



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

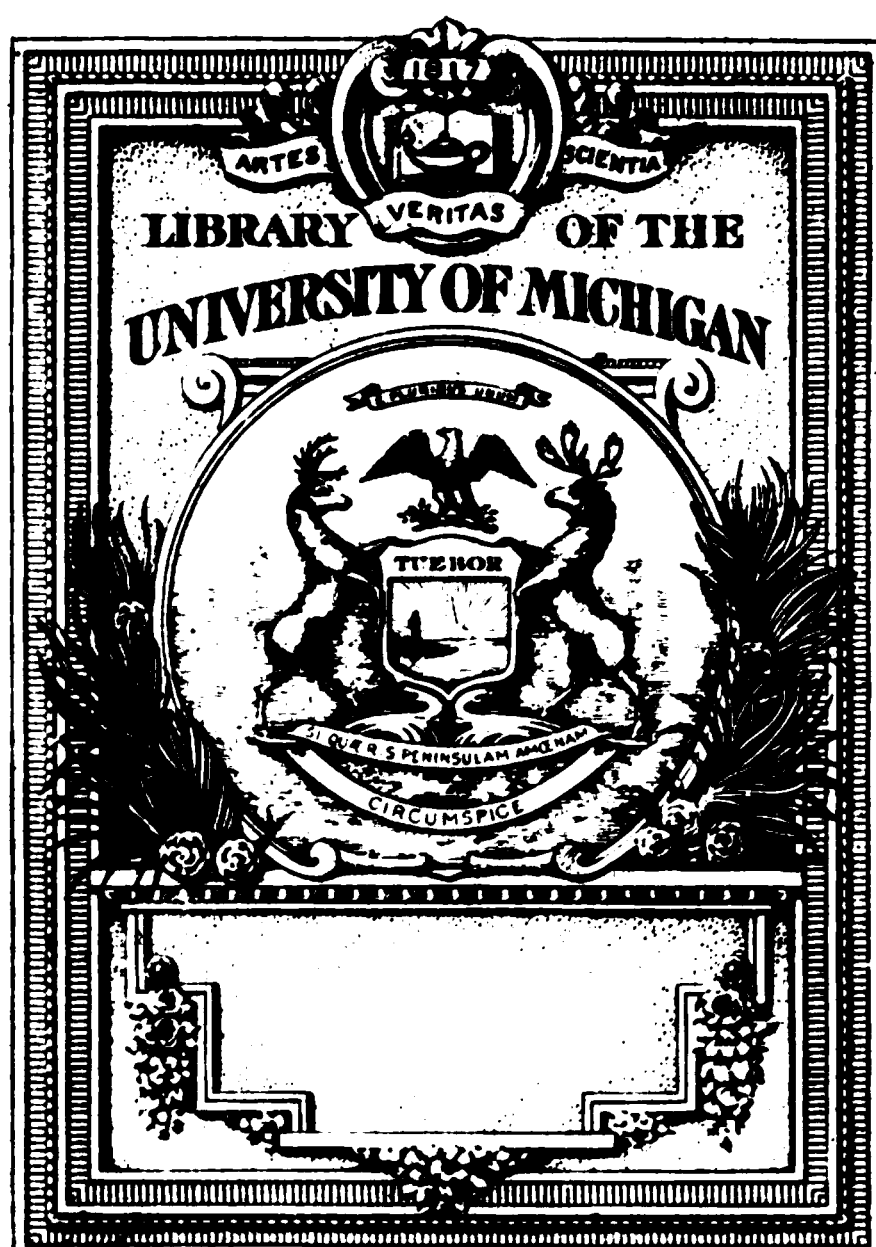
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



DA

317.2

. L78

1766

John Angus



State Worthies:

OR, THE

S T A T E S M E N

A N D

F A V O U R I T E S

O F

E N G L A N D

F R O M T H E

R E F O R M A T I O N

T O T H E

R E V O L U T I O N.

T H E I R

**PRUDENCE and POLICIES, SUCCESSES and
MISCARRIAGES, ADVANCEMENTS and FALLS.**

By **DAVID LLOYD.**

To this Edition is added the Characters of the Kings and
Queens of England, during the above Period; with a
Translation of the Latin Passages, and other Additions.

In **TWO VOLUMES.**

By **CHARLES WHITWORTH, Esq;**

VOL. I.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. ROBSON, Bookseller to her Royal High-
ness the Princess Dowager of Wales, in New Bond-Street,
M,DCC,LXVI.

TO THE
HOPE OF ENGLAND,

ITS
YOUNG GENTRY,

Is most humbly Dedicated

THE HONOUR OF IT,

ITS
ANCIENT STATESMEN :

A Renowned Ancestry

TO
An. Honourable Posterity.

David Lloyd.

Q 9-5-28 omc.

Bellevue, N.Y. 9-18-33



History - English

Heffer

7-23-28

17584

T O T H E

^{2v.} R E A D E R.

Courteous Reader,

FOR bestowing some *vacant* hours (by that *excellent Personages direction*, to whom I am *equally* obliged for my *Employment* and my *Leasure*) in an attempt *so* agreeable to the lord Verulam's judgment, which may be seen in the *next page* ; and *so* *pursuant* of sir Robert Naunton's designe, which may be traced in the *following Book* ; another person's abilities might have gained *ap- plause*, and my weakness may *deserve* an excuse, notwithstanding *my years*, (if yet any man be too *young* to *read* and *observe*) or my *profession* (if yet a divine should not (as times go) be as well read in *Men*, as *Books* :) especially since I gratifie to man's *fondness*, writing not a *Panegyrick*, but an *History* : nor pleasure any persons *malice* ; designing
Obser-

The Epistle

Observations, rather than *Invectives*: nor tyre any man's *patience*: setting down rather the remarks of mens publick capacities, than the minute passages of their *private* lives: but innocently discourse the most choice instances our ENGLISH histories afford for the three great qualifications of men (1. Noblesse in behaviour: 2. Dexterity in business; and 3. Wisdome in government) among which are twenty-eight secretaries of state, eight chancellours, eighteen lord treasurers, sixteen chamberlains, who entertain gentlemen with observations becoming their extraction, and their hopes, touching,

1. The rise of states-men.
2. The beginning of families.
3. The method of greatness.
4. The conduct of courtiers.
5. The miscarriages of favourites, and what-ever may make them either *wise* or *wary*.

The chancellour of France had a picture, that to a common eye shewed many little heads, and they were his *Antecessors*; but to the

to the Reader.

the more curious represented onely one great one, and that was his *own*.

It's intended that this book should to the *vulgar* read or expresse several particulars, *i.e.* all this last ages *Heroes*; but to every gentleman it should intimate onely one, and that is *himself*.

It's easily imaginable how unconcerned I am in the fate of this book, either in the history, or the observation; since I have been so faithful in the first, that is not my own, but the *Historians*; and so careful in the second, that they are not mine, but the *Histories*.

DAVID LLOYD.

*The Lord Bacon's Judgment of a
Work of this nature.*

HISTORY, which may be called just and perfect history, is of three kinds, according to the object it propoundeth, or pretendeth to represent; for it either representeth a time, a person, or an action. The first we call chronicles, the second lives, and the third narrations, or relations.

Of these; although the first be the most compleat and absolute kind of history, and hath most estimation and glory; yet the second excelleth it in profit and use; and the third in verity and sincerity. For history of times representeth the magnitude of actions, and the publick faces or deportments of persons, and passeth over in silence the smaller passages and motions of men and matters.

But such being the workmanship of God,
as he doth hang the greatest weight upon
the

The Lord Bacon's Judgment

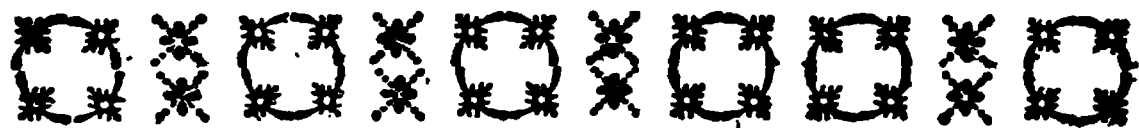
the smallest wyars, *Maxima é minimis suspendens*; it comes therefore to pass, that such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business, than the true and inward resorts thereof. But lives, if they be well written, propounding to themselves a person to represent, in whom actions both greater and smaller, publick and private, have a commixture, must of necessity contain a more true, native, and lively representation.

I do much admire that these times have so little esteemed the vertues of the times, as that the writing of *Lives* should be no more frequent. For although there be not many soveraign princes, or absolute commanders, and that states are most collected into monarchies; yet are there many worthy personages that deserve better than dispersed report, or barren elogies: for herein the invention of one of the late poets is proper, and doth well enrich the ancient fiction. For he faineth, that at the end of the thread or web of every man's life, there was a little medal containing the person's name; and
that

of a Work of this Nature;

that *Time* waiteth upon the *Sheers*, and as soon as the thread was cut, caught the medals and carried them to the river *Lethe*; and about the bank there were many birds flying up and down, that would get the medals, and carry them in their beak a little while, and then let them fall into the river. Onely there were a few swans, which if they got a name, would carry it to a temple where it was consecrate.

PREFACE



P R E F A C E

T O T H I S

N E W E D I T I O N .

A F T E R the approbation of so great a judge as lord Bacon, of works of this nature, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon the utility of the treatise, or to inforce what has been mentioned by him. It remains therefore only to give an account of the Author whose book I have taken the liberty to re-print.

As to the Author;—David Lloyd, son of Hugh Lloyd, was born at Pant Mawr in the parish of Trawsvinydd, in Merionithshire, on the 28th of Sept. 1635, educated in the free-school at Ruthen in Denbighshire, became a servitor of Oriel Coll. in 1652, (at which time and after he performed the office of *Janitor* of the said Coll.) took one degree in arts, and by the favour of the warden

The Preface to

den and society of Merton Coll. became rector of a small town called Ibston near Watlington in the diocese of Oxon, in the beginning of May, 1658. In the next year he proceeded in arts, but keeping Ibston not long, he went to London, and became reader of the Charter-house under Dr. Tim. Thurfrofs. Afterwards he retired to Wales and became chaplain to Dr. If. Barrow, bishop of St. Afaph, who, besides several preferments in that diocese, gave him a canonry in the said church, in which he was instituted 26 August, 1670. On the 14th of August 1671, he was made vicar of Abergeley, and on the same day, as is supposed, prebend of Vaynol in the said church of St. Afaph, at which time he resigned his canonry to Mr. Rich. Turbridge. Afterwards he exchanged Abergeley for the vicaridge of Northop in Flintshire, where settling, he taught the Free-school, and continued there till towards his latter end. Finding his health decay about half a year before he died, he retired to the place of his nativity, and expired the 16 February 1691.

this New Edition.

As to the work, it is wrote in a short, concise, nervous stile, with an agreeable and lively humour; and however truly adapted the characters may be to the persons they are design'd for, they certainly represent pleasing pictures of human life, upon that account will deserve the reading of all persons, who wish to edify by books. In regard to the part I have taken, it is no otherwise than translating the Latin sentences, of which it abounds, and was the fashion of those times; and this for the sake of the ladies, who will I dare say find their time well bestowed in the perusal. But the greatest inducement to re-print it, was the desire of a lady of distinction, whose taste and judgement are sufficiently known by those who are so happy as to be admitted to her conversation; and as I had the honour of being commissioned by her to buy the book, I found it so scarce, that I thought I could not give the publick more satisfaction, than being the means of making it more universally dispers'd, by a new edition: particularly as I have had the satisfaction to hear a most ingenious and right reverend Prelate, and a

Lay-

The Preface to

Layman of great taste and distinction, commend the work, as containing useful anecdotes, and observations not to be found elsewhere; and in the elegant compilations of Mr. Walpole, Wood's *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, and the *Biographia Britannia*, are numberless references and extracts, which give great credit and authenticity to our author: to illustrate the characters the more, I have selected those of the respective monarchs from Rapin and other impartial historians; which, it is presum'd, will throw a greater light upon those of the statesmen and favourites of each reign. I wish it may have the effect of making men more in love with the history of their own country, and better acquainted with themselves; for among the variety every person may see something that may be of service to him. To the second Volume I have added an *Appendix*, containing some lives extracted from *Winstanley's Worthies*; which, tho' they may not perhaps be wrote with the spirit and conciseness of Lloyd's, yet may properly accompany his, and go nearer to compleat
a cata-

this New Edition.

a catalogue to the Revolution. As bringing the characters to a later period, would employ much more time and attention than I have to spare, yet if any manuscripts should have been compiled of that sort and in private possession, I will very readily give my assistance to transmit them to the publick. My distance from the press, and employing myself in a more extensive publication, may have occasioned some trifling typographical errors, and omissions, which I hope the judicious reader will excuse : he may depend upon this, that I have kept literally to the diction of my author, as otherwise it would not properly be his : the purchasers therefore may be assured of every syllable being the same as in the old edition, since changing the expression often changes the thought, and I was willing to let it stand upon its own legs, sensible of my inability to give it any support.

C. W.



STATE-WORTHIES,

OR, THE

States-Men and Favourites of England,

IN

The Reign of King HENRY VIII.



Lord HERBERT's Character of

HENRY the VIII.

✱✱✱ KING Henry's life being commonly Hen. 8.
✱ K ✱ held various and diverse from itself, }
✱✱✱ will hardly suffer any character or
✱✱✱ description. Howbeit, since others
have so much defamed him, as will appear by
the following objections, I shall strive to rectifie
their understandings who are impartial lovers of
truth; without either presuming audaciously to
condemn a prince, heretofore sovereign of our
kingdom, or omitting the just freedom of an
historian.

And because his most bitter censurers agree,
that he had all manner of perfection either of
nature or education; and that he was (besides)

Hen. 8. of a most deep judgement in all affairs to which he applyed himself; a prince not onely liberall and indulgent to his family, and court, and even to strangers, whom he willingly saw; and one that made choice both of able and good men for the clergy, and of wise and grave counsellors for his state affairs; and above all, a prince of a royall courage: I shall not controvert these points, but come to my particular observations. According to which, I finde him to have been ever most zealous of his honour and dignity; insomuch, that his most questioned passages were countenanced either with home or forraign authority: so many universities of Italy and France maintaining his repudiating of queen Katherin of Spain; and his parliament (for the rest) authorizing the divorces and decapitations of his following wives, the dissolutions of the monasteries, and divers others of his most branded actions: so that by his parliaments in publick, and juries in private affairs, he at least wanted not colour and pretext to make them specious to the world; which also he had reason to affect: outward esteem and reputation being the same to great persons which the skin is to the fruit, which though it be but a slight and delicate cover, yet without it the fruit will presently discolour and rot.

As for matter of state, I dare say, never prince went upon a truer maxime for this kingdom; which was, to make himself arbiter of christendom: and had it not cost him so much, none had ever proceeded more wisely. But as he would be an actor (for the most part) where he needed onely be a spectator, he both engaged himself


himself beyond what was requisite, and by call- Hen. 8.
ing in the money he lent his confederates and al-
lyes, did often disoblige them when he had most
need of their friendship. Yet thus he was the
most active prince of his time. The examples
whereof are so frequent in his history, that there
was no treaty, or almost conventicle in christen-
dom, wherein he had not his particular agent and
interest; which, together with his intelligence
in all countries, and concerning all affairs, and
the pensions given for that purpose, was one of
his vast ways for spending of money.

Again, I observe, that there never was
prince more delighted in interviews, or (gene-
rally) came off better from them. To which
also, as his goodly personage and excellent qual-
ities did much dispose him, so they gave him a
particular advantage and lustre. Howbeit, as
these voyages were extreme costly, so when he
made use thereof to conclude a treaty, it did not
always succeed; especially where credit was
yeelded to any single and private word. Inso-
much, that at his last being with Francis (where
he intended, upon his bare promise, *lier la partie*
for the most important affairs of christendom)
he found himself so much frustrated and de-
ceived.

At home it was his manner to treat much with
his parliaments; where, if gentle means served
not, he came to some degrees of the rough:
though more sparingly, that he knew his people
did but too much fear him. Besides, he under-
stood well, that fowl wayes are not always pas-
sable, nor to be used (especially in suspected and
dangerous times) but where others fail. How-

Hen. 8. ever, it may be noted, that none of his predecessors understood the temper of parliaments better then himself, or that prevailed himself more dexteriously of them. Therefore, without being much troubled at the tumultuous beginnings of the rather sort, he would give them that leave, which all new things must have, to settle. Which being done, his next care was to discover and prevent those privie combinations that were not for his service. After which, coming to the point of contribution, he generally took strict order, (by his commissioners) that gentlemen in the country should not spare each other; but that the true or (at least) neer approaching value of every mans goods and lands should be certified. And this hee did the rather, because hee knew the custome of his people was to reckon with him about their subsidies, and indeed rather to number, then to weigh their gifts.


As for his faults, I finde that of opiniate and wilfull much objected: infomuch, that the impressions privately given him by any Court-whisperer, were hardly or never to be effaced. And herein the persons neer him had a singular ability; while beginning with the commendations of those they would disgrace, their manner was to insinuate such exceptions, as they would commend a man more in few words, then commend him in many: doing therein like cunning wrestlers, who to throw one down, first take him up. Besides, this wilfulnesse had a most dangerous quality annexed to it, (especially towards his later end) being an intense jealousy almost of all persons and affairs, which disposed him
easily

easily to think the worst. Whereas it is a greater Hen. 8.
part of wisdom to prevent, then to suspect. 
These conditions again being armed with power,
produced such terrible effects, as stiled him both
at home and abroad by the name of cruell;
which also hardly can be avoyded; especially,
if that attribute be due, not onely to those prin-
ces who inflict capitall punishments frequently,
and for small crimes, but to those who pardon
not all that are capable of mercy. And for tes-
timonies in this kinde, some urge two queens,
one cardinal (*in procinctu*, at least) or two (for
Poole was condemned, though absent); dukes,
marquesses, earls, and earls sons, twelve; ba-
rons and knights eighteen; abbots, priors,
monks and priests seventy seven; of the more
common sort, between one religion and another,
huge multitudes. Hee gave some proofs yet
that he could forgive; though, as they were few
and late, they served not to recover him the
name of a clement prince. As for covetousnesse,
or rapine, another main fault observed by San-
ders, as extending not onely to a promiscuous
overthrow of religious houses, but a notable de-
rogation of the title of supreme head of the
church in his dominions: and the rather, that
he still retained the substance of the roman ca-
tholick religion) nothing, that I know, can on
those terms palliate it, unlesse it might be col-
lected, that the religious orders in his kingdom
would have assisted those who threatned invasion
from abroad, and that hee had no other extra-
ordinary means than their revenues then left to
defend himself. For certainly, the publick pre-
text, taken from their excessive numbers in pro-
portion

Hen. 8. portion to a well composed state, or the inordinate and vitious life of the general sort, cannot sufficiently excuse him ; since, together with the supernumerary and debauched abbeyes, priories and nunneries, he subverted and extinguished the good and opportune ; without leaving any receptacle for such as through age or infirmity being unapt for secular businesse, would end their dayes in a devout and retired life. Nevertheless, as he erected divers new bishopricks, encreased the number of colledges, and the stipend of readers in the universities, and did many other pious works, it is probable he intended some reparation. Though (as the roman catholick party conceives it) they were neither satisfactory for, nor equivalent to the desolations and ruines hee procured, when yet he should pretend that the revenues and number of the gentry and soldiats of the kingdome were augmented thereby. Howbeit, as in this act of overthrowing monasteries, his parliaments were deeply engaged, it will be dangerous to question the authority thereof, since things done by publick vote, where they finde not reason, make it ; neither have many laws other ground then the constitution of the times ; which yet afterwards changing, leave their interpretation doubtfull : infomuch, that posterity might justly abrogate them when the causes thereof ceased, had they the power to do it. For which regard also I shall not interpose my opinion otherwise, then that this king had met with no occasion to do that which had caused so much scandal to him and his parliaments.

But

But whereas Sanders hath remarked covetousness as a great vice in this king, I could wish it had been with more limitation, and so as he noted the other extreme (being prodigality) for the greater fault: the examples of both being so pregnant in the king's father and himself. The first, by an exact inquiry into the corruptions and abuses of his officers and subjects, and the prevailing himself thereof to bring all into good order; and the getting of money together, whether by ordinary or extraordinary means (onely when they were not manifestly unjust); and lastly, by frugality, acquiring to himself the name of prudent at home, and puissant abroad; as being known to have in his coffers always as much as would pay an army royall. Whereas this king, so often exhausting his treasury, that he was constrained at last to have recourse to unusuall and grievous ways for relieving his wants, did not onely disaffect his subjects in great part (as appeared in the rebellion of the northern men and others, though to their confusion) but exposed his kingdom to the invasion of his neighbours: who knowing (as all princes do) to about how much their revenues amount, and that there remained no longer any ready way to improve them, did collect thence what forces he could furnish; and consequently, would have assailed him at home, but that mutual divisions did hinder them. Whereby it appears, that what Henry VII is call'd by some covetousness, was a royall vertue: whereas the excessive and needlesse expences of Henry VIII drew after them those miserable consequences which the world hath so much reproached. Howbeit, there may

Hen. 8. be occasion to doubt, whether the immense  treasure which Henry the VII left behinde him, were not (accidentally) the cause of those ils that followed: while the young prince his son, finding such a mass of money, did first carelessly spend, and after strive to supply as he could.

As for the third vice, wherewith he was justly charged, being lust and wantonness; there is little to answer, more then that it was rather a personall fault, then damageable to the publick: Howbeit, they who reprove it, ought not onely to examine circumstances (which much aggravate or extenuate the fact) but even the complexions of men. That concupiscence which in some is a vice, being in others a disease of repletion, in others a necessity of nature. It doth not yet appear that this fault did hasten the death of his queens; he being noted more for practising of private pleasures, then secret mischiefs: so that if any undue motive did cooperate herein, it may be thought an inordinate desire to have posterity (especially masculine) which might be the undoubted heirs of him and the kingdom, rather then any thing else.

With all his crimes yet, he was one of the most glorious princes of his time: insomuch that not onely the chief potentates of christendome did court him, but his subjects in general did highly reverence him, as the many tryals he put them to, sufficiently testifie: which yet expired so quickly, that it may be truly said, all his pomp died with him; his memory being now exposed to obloquy, as his accusers will neither admit reason of state to cover any where, or necessity to excuse his actions. For, as they were
either

either discontented clergy-men (for his relinquish- Hen. 8.
ing the papall authority, and overthrowing the
monasteries); or offended women (for divers se-
vere examples against their sex) that first oppos'd
and cry'd him down, the clamour hath been the
greater: so that although one William Thomas
a clerk to the council to Edward the sixth, and
living about the later times of Henry the eighth's
reign, did in great part defend him in an Italian
book, printed anno 1552, it hath not availed.

But what this prince was, and whether, and
how far forth excusable in point of state, con-
science or honour, a diligent observation of his
actions, together with a conjuncture of the times,
will (I conceive) better declare to the judicious
reader, then any factious relation on what side
whatsoever. To conclude; I wish I could leave
him in his grave,

Observations on the Life of Cardinal W O L S E Y.

Cardinal Wolsey was not so great in his for- Lloyd.
tune, as he was mean in his original: his
honest and industrious parents helped him to a
good constitution, and a large spirit, (two hope-
ful steps to greatness;) though one hath said of
him,

*Brave priest, whoever was thy sire by kind,
Wolsey of Ipswich nere begat thy mind.*

His


Hen. 8. His ambition gave him the opportunity to en-
 crease his parts ; he was as pregnant at Ipswich-
 school, as he was promising in Magdalen colledg ;
 where he was batchelor of arts at 15 years of
 age, and therefore called the boy-batchelour ;
 his industry and parts advanced him to a com-
 mand over noblemen of the marquess of Dorset's
 family, as school-master ; as his policy promoted
 him to an imperiousness over kings in the quality
 of states-man. *The first step to greatness in a
 Scholar, is Relation to a Nobleman*: the best edu-
 cation for the court, is in the palace. Nature
 made him *capable*, the school and university made
 him a *Scholar* ; but his noble employment made
 him a *Man*. At Oxford he read books, at my
 lord's he read men, and observed *Things*: his
 patrons two parsonages bestowed upon him, was
 not so great a favour as the excellent principles
 instilled into him ; he being not more careful to
Instruct and *Educate* the young men, then their
 father was to *Tutor* him : his bounty makes him
Rich, and his recommendation *Potent* : his *In-
 terest* went far, his *Money* farther. Bishop Fox
 was secretary to king Henry the seventh, and he
 to bishop Fox ; the one was not a greater favou-
 rite of the king's, than the other was his ; as one
 that brought him a *Head* capable of all obser-
 vations, and a *Spirit* above all difficulties. Others
Managed the *Affairs* of *England*, Wolsey un-
 derstood its *Interest*: his correspondence was good
abroad ; his observations close, deep, and con-
 tinued at *home*: he improved what he knew,
 and bought what he knew not. Being a master
 of so happy a reservedness, as to what he under-
 stood not, that in all those variety of things that
 tried

tried his *parts*, he never came under the reproofe Hen. 8. of Megabyfes, to whom Apelles said. Whilst thou was silent, thou seemedst to be some body, but now there is not the meanest boy that grindeth oaker, but he laugheth at thee. And as he was reserved in his speech, so he was moderate in his carriage, till the success of lesser actions fleshed him for greater.

He could make any thing he read or heard, his own; and could improve any thing that was his own to the uttermost.

One *Christmas* retirement to the marques of Dorsets from Magdalen college, where he was fellow and school-master, was like to have *undone* him, at the same time that it *made* him; for that debonairness whereby he hoped to open the way to honour as a courtier, occasioned his disgrace as a *Minister*.

Sir James Pawlet, (who for six days imprisonment of him in Somersetshire, suffered six years confinement by him in the Middle-Temple and the Gate-House, untill he was glad to adorne one prison at a great charge, with the badge and cognizance of the Cardinals greatness, to abate his displeasure, as he said, he had disgraced another with a school-masters meanness to provoke it,) thought fit to *Commit* him for that activity, for which others advanced him; and that to a capacity, (see the instability of humane affairs; the *Greatest* should not *presume*, the meanest should not *despond*) of having the knight as much at the school-masters pleasure, as the school-master was at his humour. For having lost the Marques through whom he hoped to shew himself with advantage at court, *by death,*
and

Hen. 8. and his fellowship at Magdalen, where he might  have appeared with applause in the university, *by Resignation*, he travelled himself into the old treasurer of Callis favour and service, first as his chaplain, then as his deputy, and by him to K. H. 7ths. notice: to whom he became, by dextrous addresses to the two then great favourites bishop Fox and sir Thomas Lovel, known as well by his sharpe and solid discourses in the closet, as by his discreet and modest behaviour in the chappel, to be capable of two things, *Business* by his diligence, and *Trust* by his *Reservedness*, both tryed in an ambassage to Maximilian the emperour; his first employment performed so *quickly*, that the king checked him for not being gone, when he presented himself to signifie that he was returned; and so *prudently* and effectually, that according to his duty he fulfilled all those instructions given with him, and out of his discretion those likewise too late sent after him; answering the wise king, who asked him whether he met the pursuivant he sent after him? that he met him and read his letters, the matter whereof he had dispatcht, conceiving it necessary, for which he craved pardon, confessing it a presumption; the sage king vouchsafeing him not only pardon, but applause, promising himself the greatest services from one that had given so good an earnest. And indeed he had better success in serving others, than his dependents had in serving him; for it was mr. Cromwels great complaint to him, and his great trouble within himself, that he had not taken all the opportunities offered him, to advance his servants while he stood, that they might have had abilities to
assist

assist him when he was fallen; for when he was **Hen. 8.** reduced to a pension of 4000. markes at Winchester, and had his lands belonging to his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich seized on by the * *præmunire* to the kings use, and the abbey at St. Albons divided among the courtiers, he was forced to borrow 200 l. of John Higdon his first dean of Christ-Church, to pay and reward some of his poorest servants, on this condition, that they should not † *suscipere gradum Simonis*, and having served a Cardinal, wait on any other below the King. Indeed his estate in his prosperity was little enough for his magnificence which performed great things, and designed greater; and in his adversity little enough, for his charity, which he dispensed in all places between the Charterhouse at Richmond, where he began to dye religiously, and the Abbey of Leicester where he dyed naturally: a charity, which added to his reading divine service, and preaching in some church every Sunday, his open house all the week days, the familiarity and sweetness of his converse, and the humility of his life, gained him as great a respect in the *North* as he had lost in the *South*.

No sooner was he in with the Bishop of Winchester, but the bishop was *out* with the Earl of Surrey; to whom he must have stooped, as he did unto nature and age, had not he raised his servant equal to himself in the king's favour, and above Howard. He was forbid by the canon, heirs of his body; he was enjoined by his prudence

* A writ to restrain the subjects from suing in any other courts than the King's.

† Serve below their character.

Hen. 8. dence to make an heir of his favour, equally to support and comfort his old age, and maintain his interest. Children in point of policy, as in nature, are a blessing, and as arrows in the hands of a mighty man; and happy is that old courtier that hath his quiver full of them, *he shall not be ashamed when he speaks with his Enemies in the gate.* The old man commends Wolsey to Henry the Seventh for one fit to serve a king, and command others. Forein employment is the statesman's first school; to France therefore he is sent, to poise his English gravity with French debonairness: A well pois'd quickness is the excellent temper. From forein employment under an old king, he is called home to some domestic services under the young one. He as quickly found the length of *His Foot*, as he fitted him with an easie Shoo; the King followed his pleasures, and the Cardinal enjoyeth *His power*; the one pursued his sports while *Youth*, the other his business while *Time* served him, (*Give me to Day, and take thou to Morrow, is both the Courtier and the Christian's Language:*) the Favourite took in the council-table debates, and other state-affairs in the mass and whole bulk of them by day, and the king had the quintessence of them extracted, and the sum of them represented to him at night. All state-business was disposed of by him, and most church-preferments bestowed upon him; the Deanry of Lincolne, the king's Almonership, a house near Bridewell, Durham, Winchester, Bath, Worcester, Hereford, Tournay, Lincolne, St, Alban's and York, were in his possession; and all other promotions in his gift: He was installed in the kingdom (during
King

King Hen'ry's youthfulness) and had the church Hen.8. in *commendam*. His great services indeed could not be managed without a great revenue, nor his greater power supported, but by an able purse, which may buy off expedients as readily as his greatness may command them.

His pithy and witty sentences at the Starr-Chamber made him speaker there, and his fluent tongue the most forward every where else ; his clear head and smooth tongue engrossed all the king's favour, and most persons addresses, which advanced his estate much, and his reputation more : in so much that the management of, and provision for the great voyage to France, 5 H. 8. by sea and land was trusted to *his sole Care* ; and ordered to very good effect by his sole discretion : not neglecting his own affairs while he provided for the King's, being the most dextrous by his correspondents at discovering preferments, the closest at attaining of them ; the quickest at possessing them, and the most skilfull for improving them of any man living ; punctual in keeping up the honour of his place, witness his advancing of his crosses as Primate of England, above those of Canterbury as Primate of all England (pitty saith one, that they who should contend **de pasce* *ovibus* should fall out † *de lana caprina*) and what jurisdiction he wanted as Arch-bishop, he made up as Cardinal, ‡ Legate *de latere* and Chancellour. In which capacity, he kept 500 servants, among whom 9 or 10 Lords, 15 Knights, and

* About feeding the flock.

† About Goat's Hair.

‡ A particular Commission given by the Pope to those who are in his greatest confidence.

Hen. 8. and 40 Esquires : in which respect he was sent upon two embassies of state to the emperor Charles the 5th in Flanders to the great honour of the English nation. He entertained all ambassadors to the great satisfaction of all foreign princes, and the King often to his great content, administering to his Majesties pleasure, that he might enjoy his power ; discovering as great skill in his *Treats* as in his *Government*, especially careful of three things.

1. His pomp, to keep his place from contempt, it being not enough for a man in authority to have a power that may awe the judgement of the wise to subjection, unless he have a pomp too, that may dazzle the eyes of the vulgar into veneration : though *Envy* is the most dangerous thing that can happen to a private man, yet contempt is the worst thing that can befall a publick person ; this weakening the being of the later which consists in his power, as the other doth the comfort of the first, which consisteth in his peace.

2. His devotion, neglecting not one collect of his prayers for all the cumbrances of his place, wherein he deceived many of the people, thinking he had no time for his devotion from his business, and his servants wondering how he could gain time for his business from his devotion ; he made *Conscience* of religion, because in his experience of affaires he met with many providences of God that made him really believe it ; he made no shew of it, because the world believed such men as he did but pretend it.


3. His health, never going out without a perfumed orange into the great crowd that always awaited

awaited him, to whom all persons came first before they went to the king : that he wanted such things, was to sober men argument of the frailty of the greatest man ; that he used them, was to envious men an argument of the pride of a poor man. Which putteth me in mind of *Plinyes* description of a man, than whom he saith, there is not a living creature *more wretched or more proud* : For the last of which qualities, it was that our *Icarus*, though a man of great capacity, large experience, and comparative moderation, moultered his wing so soon in the beams of Royal Majesty. But as our Laureat hath it, God help the man so *wrapped in Errour's endless train*, one Anticyra hath not Hellebore enough to cure him.

Two corrivals he had, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk : Brandon he despised, as rather besides, saith my author, than against him ; he being the Kings companion in pleasure, and Wolsey his counsellour in policy ; the Duke great with young Henry, the Bishop with the King : Buckingham he feared as popular ; and undermined, as proud : (that tower must fall, whose foundation is hollow.) Buckingham was high in birth, honour and estate, Wolsey higher in prudence, whose malice did the brave Duke much mischief, and his own folly more : (Vain glory, writes my friend, ever lieth at open guard, and gives much advantage of play to her enemies.) A deboyft king is jealous, and a weak nobleman ambitious. In fine, he is attainted of high treason, (though rather corrival to the king in his cloaths than his crown,

C

in

Hen. 8. in his vanities than his authority :) but a cunning  upstart quickly blows off a young noblemans cap and feather, and his head too, when it stands in his way. Tarquin instructed more than his own son, by striking off the heads of the poppies.

His power against Buckingham was his shield against all others: One defence well managed one adversary thoroughly suppressed, is a security at court, where two men seldom fall the same way.

Many envied the Archbishop, the Cardinal, the Legate *de latere*, the Lord Chancellour; but all *feared* the favourite: most were discontented, but none durst shake their heads, lest they fell off with Buckingham's: the Bishop's displeasure was more fatal than the king's, whose wrath was *violent*, but not *lasting*; as the other's anger was of less fury, but more malice, real and more secret, he having set up as indiscernible way of intelligence, as angels do of communication; he and his correspondents understanding one another, not by discourse, but by the present state of things; as those intelligences understand one another, not by speech, but by *Ideas*. His power was great, and his justice equal; for he was too proud to be bribed, and too powerful to be overborn. But England was too narrow a theatre for this great spirit, and he aspires to Rome; and having been these many years pope of this other world, would have been of that beyond the waters: his leap was great, from York to Rome, and his rise as good: Charles the Fifth was his client, and his master's servant; the Cardinals were his pensioners; and when they

they failed (as he is no fox whose den hath but one hole, and he no statesman who when one way is stopped, cuts not out another) he falls off from the German Emperor to the French King: where if he could not carry his own design, he would hinder the Emperours; (and revenge is an advancement) (so great was he, that his friendship balanced Europe, over-awed Emperours, threatened Kings, and was fatal to Queens) if he cannot be Pope of Rome, he will shew he is as good as King of England, for finding that the king wanted a meet yoke-fellow for his bed, and a lawful heir-male to his crown, and observing Queen Katherine's age above her husband's, and her gravity above her age, being more pious than pleasant a better woman than wife, and a better wife for any Prince than King Henry; he promotes a divorce (upon some scruples intimated by the Spaniards some years before, in a treaty about the princess Mary's marriage, which others had forgot, but the Cardinal laid up) between the King and queen: but that was not all; but knowing that King Henry could not have to his minde, until he had a pope of his own choosing, he would help him to a young wife, but he must raise him to a new power; Wolsey must be Pope, or King Henry could not be divorced: and to make all sure, he was no sooner to be parted from a daughter of Spain, than he was to be joed to a Princess of France; whose nuptial ring should wed King Henry to *her*, and King Francis to *himself*.

Two ways did he disoblige Queen Anne Bullein that was his deadly enemy, 1. By dissolving the contract between her and the Lord Piercy, the Earle of Northumberland's eldest son, to please

Hen. 8. the King, 2. By endeavouring to hinder, or at least delay the marriage between her and the King, to gratifie himself; whom in vain afterwards, by inventions unheard of, he endeavoured to please as well as the king; when he saw the contrivances of a great wit, the allurements of a famous beauty, and the malice of a disappointed woman, joyned to the envy of the greatest lord, whom he had ordered as irrespectively as the meanest subject. When it is once past noon with a court favourite, it is presently night with him: for knowing that the Cardinal was *cunning*, and the king not yet *cruel*, they longed to have him at York while at London; and again they contrive to bring him to London while at York; the first upon pretense that he might do good, the last with design that he might do no harme. *Sed nullæ sunt occultiores insidiæ quàm hæ quæ latent in simulatione officij.*† As he observed the method of some old cunning parliament men, who when they had a mind to cross a bill, were always highest for it in the house, (as the eagle carried the shell up in the skye to break it) and would insert so many, and so great inconveniences into the act, that they were sure it could never pass.

‡ *Tuta frequensque via est per amici fallere nomen.*

Missing of power, he meditates honour; and instead of lavishing his infinite treasure upon airy expectations, he bestoweth it on real monuments; witness the great work at Callice, &c. which makes his memory as renowned as his Life. That Statesman lives to small purpose whose actions are

† No plots are more secret than those hid under the pretence of doing a good office.

‡ In friendship's garb men frequently deceive.

are as short as his life, and his exploits of no longer duration than his age. Hen. 8.

At this time, though King Henry bore the Sword, yet Cardinal *Wolsey* (as I am told) bore the stroue all over the land, being legate *a latere*, by virtue whereof he visited all churches and religious-houses, even the *Friers observants* themselves, notwithstanding the stoutness and stubbornness that first opposed him. Papal and royal power met in him, being the chancellour of the land, and keeping so many Bishopricks in *commendam*, that his yearly income is said to equal if not exceed the revenues of the crown. He gave the first blow to religious houses, by making one great cardinal college, now *Christ Church* (of which one comparing his project with his performance, said, * *Instituit Collegium, absolvit Popinam*. And another being asked what he thought of the ampleness of the foundation, answered, † *Fundatione nihil amplius*; to which I may add his colledge at *Ipswich*) of forty small monasteries; to make way, as some thought, upon the Popes consent, procured by him, to the overthrow of all.

He called all Captains and Officers to an account, who bought off their own small corruption with his great one, and paid him the penalties of their cheats with the gains of it; the richest of them escaping, and the poorest only made exemplary. Several courts of pretended equity he erected; to redress the poor, that was the colour; to enrich himself, that was the reality: at whose constitution the law-courts were unfrequented,

* He built a colledge upon the ruins of a victualling-house.

† Nothing more than the foundation.

Hen. 8. quented, so specious was their seeming integrity ;
 { at the last they are deserted, so manifest were their
 real grievances ; the people not flocking so fast
 after the novelty, as they ran away from the
 cheat : though his pretense was fair, *that the*
 kingdom should not be a common-wealth of fish,
 where the greater devoured the less.

What he did to reform the courtiers, as a favourite, he did to reform the clergy as legate ; effecting a court legantine (not without danger of a *præmunire*) wherein all clergy were visited ; the rich in their purses, that excused them ; the poor in their reputation, that compounded for them. Neither did his profits arise from the living only, but the dead ; he engrossing the probation of all wills and testaments within his own court : he had petty projects, *viz.* that children should follow their father's profession, saying that he observed, that the father's eminency in any act, begat in the child a propension to the same ; and where two or three successive generations happily insist in the steps one of another, they raise an art to great perfection, and liked well the prudence of our parliaments in permitting the eldest son of barons to be present at their consultations, to fit them by degrees for the person they are to sustain.

And not long after, he hath a patent under the Great Seal of England, to do what he pleased in the French Court, in order to the King's progress thither ; as he hath likewise after, with his master's leave, under the great seal of France : After which honour, he was with the king's order, by English subjects, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, &c. honoured at no less rate than that of a prince and by the clergy (who kept close to the publick temper

temper) with processions, &c. at the same rate Hen. 8. with a pope. Great he was in England; greater in Germany, where all the nobility attended him, the great seal of England was carried before him; and the Emperor observing his commission and honour, met him with his whole train, and harangued it with him no less than two days. He that over-ruled empires might well presume on subjects; and no sooner therefore doth he return, than by his own authority he levieth four shillings in the pound of every man that was worth fifty pound *per Annum*; and when that would not do (pretending to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that he had been upon his knees to revoke those commissions) other letters for a benevolence, which lost him as much in the countrey, as his reformation of the household did him at court. But the king employeth him to France, as his Second and takes his leave of him as his intimate friend; 1200 horse attended him: Callice, Bulein, Amiens honour him with the name of *The peaceable Cardinal*; and the statue of a Cardinal *rescuing a church and a pope from danger*, whom yet underhand he brought into danger, making the Duke of Bourbon General against the King of France to revenge himself; and yet making an underhand peace with France (which the Duke knew not of, till he took the instrument of peace sealed at the castle of Pavia) to please others; for which last exploit, carried on privately by receiving the French ambassadour as an Italian jester, the Duke of Bourbon resolved to go and sack *Rome*, and punish all the Cardinals he *could* come at for the fault of one he *could not*. But though his armes reached him not, the court wits did; perswading his

Hen. 8. his Ambition to go upon a splendid embassy, to reconcile all the Christian Princes abroad, that they might have the better advantage to withdraw from him the favour of his own prince at home ; contriving likewise, that all the friends he had at court should be of his retinue in the embassy, both to increase the envy of his train, and to weaken the strength of his interest : It was observed that he gave three rules to his company the morning he went from Callis; 1. That they should take care of the Sovereign's honour that employed him. 2. That they should observe the natural civility and sobriety of the nation they came from, 3. That they should retain as much reservedness as became the affair he went about ; giving them a caution of the French in these words, *viz. that at their first meeting, they would be as familiar as if they had known them by long acquaintance*; and of themselves in these that they should not speak of any matter of importance, but in their own language, lest they should discover that for want of words which they should hide with them.

Very *exact* he was in the honourable *circumstances* of address, abateing the French King not a step in their approaches one to another, but most *exact* in the particulars of the treaty, yielding not a point to the whole council of France ; for knowing that their own conveniency, not their love brought the treaty about, he would often fling away, and make the King and Queen regent court him to renew the consultation, which other wise he must have carested them to. Fear, not love is the passion of common-wealth. But his entertainment from the King his master at home,

was

was not answerable to his service abroad ; nor the Hen. 8.
applause from the noblemen, judges, and justices {
of the peace of each shire in England (cited from
the country to hear an account of his great league
that they might report it to the country) suitable
either to his eloquence or action at the Star Cham-
ber or his great expectation. The first court design
upon him, after his return, was an entertainment
to the French Ambassador, enjoined by the King
to beggar him ; the next was a discovery made
to him of the King's love to Queen A. Bullein,
(its dangerous to know King's secrets) from which
he dissuaded his Majesty by intreaties on his knees
and by arguments from the most learned men in
the kingdome which he consulted with, and in
both universities which he sent to. Its not safe
standing in the way of a King's lust, though in-
deed the Cardinal's enemies had possessed them-
selves both of the king and people's apprehensions
so farr, that his Majesty was wrought upon to be
angry with him, because he was perswaded that
he was against his divorce ; and the people were
incensed against him (as he declared to the King
at the court of Bridewell) because they were made
believe that he was for it.

Many chafing discourses (as he called them)
had he with the king, whom yet he would coole
with the gentleness of his behaviour ; many af-
fronts from noble-men : Especially one, whose
head he had kept on, threatened his off. Often
would he dissuade the King from persuing his de-
sign ; often upon the king's sollicitations did he
and Cardinal Campeius perswade the Queen. to
retire.


At

Hen. 8. At Grafton in Northamptonshire was the first
 ~~~~~ step of his fall, when the king went to dine with  
 queen Anne Bullein, and left him to shift among  
 the servants.

Queen Anne pressed the king with the poor condition he had brought the subjects to ; others into what great estate he had raised himself. First he returns from court to Westminster, and the broad seal, with his rich furnished house being taken from him, afterwards to *Putney* or *Asbur*, when he that could have furnished Kings with accommodations, was furnished himself by the Bishop of Carlisle. Afraid they were he should have a summe of money to live upon at Rome, therefore they searched Cardinal *Campeius* train at Callis ; more afraid he should have an habitation near the King : therefore they demanded his house as Bishop of Yorke called White-hall, which the Cardinal (intreating the judges that came to take his recognizance, to teach the king not onely what he might do, but what he ought to do, and to put him in mind of the greatness of the eternal habitations as hell and heaven, as well as the conveniency of earthly dwellings) chose rather to give upon terms for Yorke-house, than to lose by force.

The articles against him in the house were bravely waved by his servant Mr. Cromwell, the grief of his heart much allayed by a ring sent him from the king, and a tablet from the Queen ; his Majesty's Physicians had a special charge about his health ; and his wardrobe about his house ; but this was only a Lightning before death, to exasperate his enemies rather than gratifie him.

Cardinal

Cardinal Wolsey going over to France, upon Hen. 8. an extraordinary embassy, had for his attendance  Tonstal Bishop of London, the Lord Sands, late Chamberlain, the Earl of Derby, Sir Tho. More, Sir H. Guilford, and 200 horse; and was met two day's journey from Paris by King Francis and his mother, carrying with him 140000 l. though silver was but 20. d an ounce, to assist that King in the war against Charles the fifth; and furnished with such a plenipotentiary commission, that he gave law to France and the Popedom: and he comported himself with such dexterity and high wisdom, that all the princes of Christendom, who had their eyes fixed upon him, admired him.

The King gave him many places, and he bestowed on him his magnificent palaces; Whitehall, that goodly hypocrite, more comely without than convenient within, Hampton-Court, Windsor; the two first to be resident in, and the last to be buried in. *Arma tenenti, omnia dat, qui justa negat*,\* fitting his humour with pleasant habitations, as he suited his ambition with power and authority.

But the king broke with him at last about the divorce, being vexed with so many delays, defers, retardings, and prorogations between two popes, Clement that was, and Wolsey that would be: yet rather eased him of his burdens, than deprived him of his preferments; continuing him Bishop of York and Durham (when he turned him out of his Chancellourship of England) where being sent by that Lord, who would not endure him nearer the King, and could not get him further, he

† Men are often forced to do things by compulsion, which they will deny upon motives of Justice.

Hen. 8. he lived rather like a *prince* than a *priest*, providing as magnificently for his *installation* as a king should for his *coronation*: which unseasonable ambition was improved by his enemies malice, and the king's jealousy to his ruine: for in the midst of his solemnities he is arrested by the King's order, signified by the Earle of Northumberland, whose wrath was the *Messenger of Death*, and in his way to London, being distracted between hope and fear, died at Leicester, where he was buried as obscurely as he was borne; and breathing out his soul in words to this purpose, *viz. If I had served the God of Heaven as faithfully as I did my master on earth, he had not forsaken me in my old age, as the other hath done.* He died, swelling in his body, as he had done in his mind, the pain being really in his heart, which seemed to be in his guts; for when Northumberland, whom he had bred, and a privy-chamberman whom he had preferred, were sent to him, he could still hope that the king intended him honour; but when Sir William Kingston, Lieutenant of the Tower, who carried a restraint in his looks, came to him, he could not believe but he intended him punishment, keeping him only between the tickling hopes of preferment, and pinching fear of disgrace, to sound his bottom and to discover his estate; so well he took the first arrest, that he directed the messengers to execute their commission legally; saying that he ought to yield himself to a privy-chamberman on his word; though not to the Earl without his commission. So ill the second, that he could not govern himself tolerably. Very observant he was of *old prophecies*; applying that



*When the Cow rides the Bull,*

Hen. 8.

*Then Priest beware thy skull.*

to Hen. 8. whose armes, as earle of Richmond was a cow ; and Anne Bullein, whose devise was a bull : whose love to each other, was the occasion of their *hatred* to him.

And *that*, that he should *have* his end at Kingston, to Kingston upon Thames, a town he would not look on willingly while he lived ; and to sir William Kingston, a man he would not with his good will hear of when he died : and fearful of new omens, interpreting the falling of his crosse to break Bonner's head, the fall of the church to the danger of his own. A serene and peacable soul acts by solid reason, a frightened and troubled one by fanſie, imagination and ſuperſtition ; *a mind in the dark of melancholy, and trouble, fear-eth every thing.* The king not knowing his own changeable mind, would have given 20000 l. he had lived ; and his enemies knowing it too well, gave 10000 l. that they might be ſure he ſhould dye.

The one aiming at a booty from his eſtate (as appeared afterward by his reward to thoſe ſervants that diſcovered it ; the other at their own ſecurity from his power : both to his dying day, ſo great, that indifferent men thought them enough, his foes too much, and he himſelf too little. Plenty without pomp, is penury to pride, which kings may make *bumbled*, God only *bumble* : he being able to take away the fire, the *Luſt* within ; the other only to withdraw the *Fuel*, the ſtate without.

*Remarkable* were his words of himſelf. *This* is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my diligent

Hen. 8. diligent pains and study, not regarding my service to God ; but only my respect to the king. Flattery is the common moath of great palaces, where Alexander's friends are more than the king's. Observable his caution to the counsellors, whom he advised to take heed, what they should put into the king's head, for (said he) you can never put it out again. Heinous is the crime of poysoning fountains: and such is a king's mind in a common-wealth. Notable was the jealousy of his enemies, who could not but believe he was alive, until the mayor and corporation of Leicester [who were called therefore to view his corps] testified under their publick seal, that he was dead: but most notorious his burial, that

*He, who from his own store late might have,  
A Palace or a Colledge for his Grave ;  
Should lye interr'd so obscurely, as if all  
Of him to be remember'd were his fall ;  
Nothing but earth to earth ; no Pompous  
weight*

*Upon him, but a pibble or a quait.*

yet though his fortune was not great, as his merit, or his merit as his mind; he planted things that are like to last as long as men are either to do things worthy to be written in books, or books are to record things worthy to be done by men.

His enemies made mock defences for him, on purpose to overthrow him: so before a serious warr, cities use to personate their adverse party, and feign mock combats and skirmishes to encourage their friends, wherein you may be sure that their own side shall conquer. Which puts me in mind of the Lyons answer in the fable, when the picture of a man beating a Lyon was

produced to him, he said, *If a Lyon had made Hen.8. this picture, he would have made the lyon above, and the man beneath.* \**Nil est quin male narrando possit depravarier.*

One thing he advised young men to take care of in their publick deliveries, viz. that they should rather proceed, though more inaccurately, than stop sensibly; few being able to discern the failure of a continued speech, when all understand the mischance of a gross silence.

A fellow having made a long oration to his hearers, of the virtues of a feather, which he affirmed to have dropped from the wing of Michael the arch-angel; and the feather being stolen from under his sleeve out of drollery, and a cinder put in the place of it to trye his humour, he went on confidently with his discourse; telling them, that though it was not the feather which he had mentioned; yet it was one of the coles which St. Laurence was broyled with; and had all those virtues which he had formerly ascribed to the feather.

When good men die suddenly, it is said they are poysoned; and when the bad fall unexpectedly, as he did, it is said they poyson themselves. He died unpitied, because he had lived feared; being the great bias of the christian world.

Too suddain prosperity in the beginning, undoeth us in the end: while we expect all things flowing upon us at first, we remit our care, and perish by neglecting. Every head cannot bear wine, nor every spirit a fortune: success eats up circumspection. How many a man had ended better, if he had not begun so well? it's the emphasis

\* Many a good cause suffers by misrepresentation.

Hen. 8. emphasis of misery, to be too soon happy : prosperity growing up with experience, makes a man in a firm settlement, inured to all events. I will ever suspect the smooth waters for deepness : in my worst estate I will hope, in the best I will fear ; in all, I will be circumspect and still. Rustling ambition reacheth great honour, a sedate humility supports it : the lower the basis, the higher and stronger the pyramide. Love, the issue of humility, guardeth the weakest ; hatred, the daughter of pride, ruins the strongest. \**Ego & Rex meus*, was good grammar for Wolsey a school-master ; but not for the cardinal a states-man. To be humble to superiors, is *duty* ; to equals, is *courtesie* ; to inferiours, is *nobleness* ; and to all, *safety* ; it being a virtue that for all her lowliness commandeth those souls it stoops to. In a word, as I love virtue, so I hate vice, for her inside and her end. Cardinal Wolsey is famous for two things ; that he never spoke a word too much, and but one too little.


---

The Lord *Herbert's* Character of Cardinal *Wolsey*, in the Life of *Henry* the Eighth, pag. 314.

*AND thus concluded that great Cardinal : a man in whom ability of parts and industry were equally eminent ; though, for being employed wholly in ambitious ways, they became dangerous instruments of power, in active and mutable times.*

*By*

\* I and my King.

By these arts yet he found means to govern not Hen. 8.  
 onely the chief affairs of this kingdom, but of   
 Europe; there being no potentate, which, in his  
 turn, did not seek to him; and as this procured  
 him divers pensions, so, when he acquainted the  
 king therewith, his manner was, so cunningly to  
 disoblige the prince who did see him last, as he  
 made way thereby oftentimes to receive as much on  
 the other side. But not of secular princes alone,  
 but even of the pope and clergy of Rome he was  
 no little courted; of which therefore he made es-  
 pecial use, while he drew them to second him on  
 most occasions. His birth being otherwise so obscure  
 and mean, as no man had ever stood so single: for  
 which reason also his chief endeavour was not to  
 displease any great person; which yet could not se-  
 cure him. For as all things passed through his  
 hands, so they who failed in their suits generally  
 bated him: all which, though it did but exaspe-  
 rate his ill nature, yet this good resultance followed,  
 that it made him take the more care to be just:  
 whereof also he obtained the reputation in his pub-  
 lick hearing of causes: for as he loved no body, so  
 his reason carried him. And thus he was an useful  
 minister of his king in all points, where there was  
 no question of deserting the roman church; of which  
 (at what price soever) I finde he was a zealous  
 servant; as hoping thereby to aspire to the papacy,  
 whereof (as the factious times then were) he  
 seemed more capable than any, had he not so immo-  
 derately affected it. Whereby also it was not hard  
 to judge of his inclination; that prince, who was  
 ablest to help him to this dignity, being ever pre-  
 ferred by him; which therefore was the ordinary  
 baite, by which the emperour and the French king,

Hen. 8. one after the other did catch him. And, upon these terms, he doubted not to convey vast treasures out of this kingdom, especially unto Rome, where he had not a few cardinals at his devotion; by whose help, though he could not attain that supreme dignity he so passionately desired, yet he prevailed himself so much of their favour, as he got a kinde of absolute power in spiritual matters at home: wherewith again he so served the king's turn, as it made him think the less of using his own authority. One error seemed common to both, which was, that such a multiplicity of offices and places were invested in him. For as it drew much envy upon the cardinal in particular, so it derogated no little from the regal authority, while one man alone seemed to exhaust all: since it becometh princes to do like good husbandmen, when they sow their grounds; which is, to scatter, and not to throw all in one place. He was no great dissembler, for so qualified a person; as ordering his businesses (for the most part) so cautiously, as he got more by keeping his word than by breaking it. As for his learning, (which was far from exact) it consisted chiefly in the subtilties of the Thomists, wherewith the king and himself did more often weary than satisfie each other. His stile, in missives, was rather copious than eloquent, yet ever tending to the point. Briefly, if it be true (as Polydore observes) that no man ever did rise with fewer virtues, it is true that few that ever fell from so high a place had lesser crimes objected against him: though yet Polydore (for being at his first coming into England committed to prison by him, as we have said) may be suspected as a partial author. So that in all probability he might have subsisted longer, if either  
his

his pride and immense wealth had not made him obnoxious, and suspected to the king, or that other, than women had opposed him: who, as they are vigilant and close enemies, so for the most part they carry their businesses in that manner as they leave fewer advantages against themselves than men do. In conclusion, as I cannot assent to those who thought him happy for enjoying the untimely compassion of the people a little before his end, so I cannot but account it a principal felicity, that during his favour with the king, all things succeeded better than afterwards; though yet it may be doubted whether the impressions he gave, did not occasion divers irregularities which were observed to follow. He died Nov. 29, 1529.

---


*Observations on the Life of Charles Brandon,  
Duke of Suffolk.*

**SIR** William Brandon dying in king Henry the seventh's service, as his standard-bearer in Bosworth-field, no wonder if his son lived in his favour; it being as prudent to continue his loyal spirit in his son, as it was just to reward it. He was as intimate with Henry the eighth in his pleasures when a *child*, as in his counsels when a *man*. There was a sympathy between their active spirits, which improved the familiarity of their tender years to a firm friendship in their age; men of quick and large striding minds loving to walk together: not to say the looser

Hen. 8. “Clear and round dealing, this noble man’s  
 “temper, is the honour of man’s nature; and  
 “that mixture of falsehood is like allay in  
 “coyn of gold and silver, which may make the  
 “metal work the better, but embaseth it.” For  
 these winding and crooked courts are the goings  
 of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the  
 belly, and not upon the foot. There is nothing  
 of so ill consequence to the publick, as false-  
 hood or (speech being the currant coyn of con-  
 verse) the putting false money upon the world;  
 or of so much prejudice to a man’s own interest,  
 as perfidiouness which weakeneth his great se-  
 curity, which stands by him when his estate and  
 friends cannot; or so dark a blot as dissembling,  
 which, as Montaign saith prettily, is only to be  
 brave towards God, and a coward towards man:  
 for a lye faceth God, and shrinketh from  
 man.

His heart was too stout, and his head too clear  
 to use those arts of closeness and dissimulation,  
 which those need who have not judgment and  
 wit enough to discern all the circumstances of an  
 affair, so as to know when to *tell* a truth; nor  
 courage and valour enough to look in the face  
 of all the consequences of a business, so as to  
*own* it: a man better made for the open arts,  
 and generous policy of H. 8. than the suspi-  
 cious closeness, and the wary reservedness of  
 H. 7. His father lost his life in completing the  
 union of roses, I mean York and Lancaster;  
 and he in beginning the union of kingdoms,  
 viz. England and Scotland by treaty; and Eng-  
 land and France by war: he being the first that  
 durst fasten the royal standard in the sides of Bul-  
 leign;



leign; and the last that advanced the St. George Hen. 8. in the middle of it, both taking and governing  it. The greatest thing that ever that age saw, was, if we believe Sleidan, the delivery of the keys of Bulleign by a French governour to the duke of Suffolk's hand; and the greatest thing king H. 8. saw, he saith, was the delivery of those keys by the duke, into his hand: insomuch that despairing of greater, the one died that year, the other the next.

Queen Elizabeth being to employ a famous embassage into France, made choice of two of the noblest peers of her realm; equal in rank, equal in virtue: but the one excused it by a defect in his hearing, and the other by an ignorance and want of the French language. To which the queen smilingly replied: that it was a miserable estate when her speaking peers were deaf, and her hearing peers were dumb. Our duke used to complain, that two of the most eminent men in the council in his time, had two different, but unhappy, qualities: the one a well-spoken man, had such a humour, that he pretended he understood hardly any body; the other a person of an excellent judgment, but speaking so darkly that hardly any body understood him.

He avoided two things, first, catching too soon at an offence: secondly, yeilding too easie a way to anger; the one shewing a weak judgment, the other a perverse nature: which rendereth great men as ridiculous, as it did the ambassadors of Spain and Venice, who drew blood from one another in the most august assembly at the coronation of K. H. 4ths. queen  
in

Hen. 8. in France, because one of them used the word *excellency* instead of the word *Seigniory*. But in these cases he observed the roman discipline \* *nec sequi, nec fugere*, to be more prudent than to catch at such trifling cavils: and more courageous than to shun, if they were offered to him: being very cautious also in mentioning the name of God in small matters [ ‡ *nec deus Interfit nisi dignus vindice nodus, Inciderit.*] and more willing to build his resolution on the experience of former ages, than his own thought; being very unwilling to be of the number of those people, who, like the Chinois, think they have two eyes; their friends, as those think of the Europeans, one; and other men, as they think of the rest, blind.

Being vexed with the delays at Rome, and the delusions at Bridewel, (where the cardina's proceeded according to their instructions at Rome). one day he knocks on the table in the presence of the two cardina's, and binds it with an oath, that it was never well in England since cardinals had any thing to do therein: and from that time forward, as an active instrument, he endeavoured the abolishing of the pope's power in England; against whom he was not more active in the parliament 1534, than he was vigilant in the committee, 1535: in the one, cutting off the head: in other, weakening the members of that church. He made provident, yet moderate use of his master's favours; thereby obliging others, and securing himself; being above mer-

\* Neither to follow nor fly.

‡ Nor let a God in person stand display'd

Unless the Labouring Plot deserves his aid.

mercenary inclinations as much in his thoughts, *Hen. 8.*  
as in his fortune: he was neither too near the king, lest he were weary of him; nor too far off, lest he forgot him, or thought himself neglected by him. His intermissions of attendance gave others no advantage, but rendred him more gracious: he neither engrossed nor confined his master's affection. It was easie for him to rise, being descended of noble blood, (which is never envied for its advancement) and as easie to keep high, being well studied in his prince's disposition, whose inclination when found is half fitted; ever pleasing his master's *Natural* humour, never his *Vicious*. Having attained a competent height, he chose rather to grow stronger by relation, than higher by advancement. *Some Favourites, whose heels have been tripped up by their adversaries, have with their hands held on their Allies till they could recover their feet again.* His familiarity, and the easie access to him, made him popular: his pliant temper kept him a favourite, until he died in the full favour of his prince; though (as cardinal Pool observed) *They who were bighest in the king's favour, had their heads nearest danger.* He had a becoming bluntness not unlike his master's, which we call free-heartedness in courtiers; conscience and christian simplicity in clergymen; valour in souldiers. He died *anno* 1544, and was buried at Windsor; much beloved and lamented of all, for his bounty, humility, valour, and all noble vertues since the heat of his youth was tamed by his reduced age: whose two sons Henry and Charles died within twe've hours one of the other, of the sweating sickness at Cambridge, 1550. *He,*

**Hen. 8.** He, knowing that learning hath no enemy but ignorance, did suspect always the want of it in those men, who derided the habit of it in others; like the fox in the fable, who having lost his taylor by mischance, perswaded others to cut theirs as a burthen. But he liked well the philosophers division of men into three ranks, some who knew good, and were willing to teach others; these he said were like Gods among men; others who though they knew not much, yet were willing to learn; these he *said were like men among Beasts*; and some who knew not good, and yet despised such as should teach them; these he esteemed as *Beasts among men*. The most miserable men he esteemed them, who running their head into a bush of confident ignorance, suppose that none see their weakness; because they are not willing to take notice of it themselves.

1. A calm greatness is next the happiness of heaven: give me the man that by a fair and calm course is rising to an higher state, yet content with his present fortune.

2. Integrity out-lasts power, and plainness survives policy: an honest heart keeps the head on the shoulders: a noble and clear vertue is lasting.

3. It's likeness that makes the true-love-knot of friendship: when a prince finds another of his own disposition, what is it but the same soul in a divided body? what finds he but himself intermutually transposed? and nature, that makes us love our selves, makes us with the same reason love those that are like us: for this, is a friend a more sacred name than a brother.

4. He

4. He that hath a mind contentedly good, en-Hen. 8.  
joyeth in it boundless possessions. He is great ~~~~~  
indeed, that is great in a brave soul.

*\* Vitam que faciunt beatiores,  
Jucundissime Martialis, hæc sunt :  
Res non parva Labore, sed relicta ;  
Non ingratus Ager, focus perennis,  
Lis nunquam, toga rara, mens quieta,  
Vires Ingenuæ, salubre Corpus,  
Prudens simplicitas, pares amici,*

*Convictus*

*\* Since Dearest Friend, 'tis your desire to see,  
A True Receipt of Happiness from me,  
These are the chief Ingredients, if not all ;  
Take an Estate neither too great nor small ;  
Which Quantum Sufficit the Doctor's call.  
Let this Estate from Parents care descend ;  
The getting it too much of Life does spend.  
Take such a Ground, whose Gratitude may be  
A fair Encouragement for Industry.  
Let constant Fires the Winter's fury tame ;  
And let thy Kitchens be a vestal flame.  
Thee to the Town let never Suit at Law,  
And rarely, very rarely Business draw.  
Thy Active Mind in equal Temper keep,  
In undisturbed Peace, yet not in Sleep.  
Let Exercise a vigorous Health maintain,  
Without which all the Composition's Vain.  
In the same weight Prudence and Innocence take,  
Ana of each does the just mixture make.  
But a few Friendships wear, and let them be  
By Nature and by Fortune fit for thee.  
Instead of Art and Luxury in Food,  
Let Mirth and Freedom make thy Table good ;  
If any Cares into thy Day time creep,  
At Night, without Wine's Opium, let them Sleep.  
Let Rest, which Nature does to Darkness wed,  
And not Lust, recommend thee to thy Bed ;*

*Observations on the Life of*

*Convictus facilis, sine arte Mensa ;  
 Nox non ebria, sed soluta curis ;  
 Non tristis torus, attamen pudicus ;  
 Somnus, qui faciat breves tenebras :  
 Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis ;  
 Summum ne metuas diem, nec optes.*

---


*Observations on Thomas Cranmer, Lord  
 Archbishop of Canterbury.*

Lloyd.

**C**RANMER had a noble blood, quickning and raising his spirits, as he had an indefatigable industry to improve it. He was a gentleman born in Arselepton in Nottinghamshire, and a Noble-man bred in Jesus-colledg in Cambridge. His ancestors were no less eminent at Cranmer's-hall in Lincolnshire, than he was at Lambeth in Surry. They came in with the conquest, (as one Cranmer a French ambassadour in Henry the eighth's time, at the archbishop's table, made it evident) and he with the reformation. His education was as gentile as his birth, only his mild spirit meeting with a severe master, his memory was weakened, and his spiritfulness allayed: but the austerity of the school was sweetened with the exercises of the country

Be satisfied, and pleased with what thou art ;  
 Act chearfully and well th' allotted Part :  
 Enjoy the present Hour, be thankful for the past,  
 And neither fear, nor wish, the approaches of the last.

*Cowley's translation of Martial Epigrams, Lib. 10. Ep. 47.*

country, which his father indulged him in when Hen. 8. he was young, and he indulged himself when  aged; handling his great horse as nimbly, his bow and net as dexterously as any man in his family. His marriage withdrew him from the college, and consequent church-preferment, as the kings did him from the church itself. He whose marriage forbid him a fellowship in Jesus-colledge, had a lecture in Buckingham-house for his parts and reputation, where at once he prepared others for publick employments, and himself also. He lived as soberly at the Dolphine-tavern with his wife, (whatever the papists have surmized) as he did studiously at Buckingham-house with his scholars. His name was so famous, that Wolsey was not more solicitous to transplant him as an ornament to Oxford, then Fisher was to retain him in Cambridg; where he was eminent for the arts, more for divinity, which (when as one of the three censors he examined *Candidates*) he said he expected not in the difficult trifles of Lumbard, but in the sacred sense of scriptures, the ancient doctrine of fathers, the grave canons of councils, the solid politeness of the greek and hebrew learning, and which he lived as well as he taught, in his sober temperance, his mild meekness, (so placable, so courteous, that to offend him, was the way to ingratiate with him) his discreet moderation, his grave resolution equally above the frowns and smiles of fortune. Thus qualified, he was by a providence commended to his majesty: for there being a plague in Cambridge, as there was all over England, Dr. Cranmer retired to Waltham with two of his pupils, the sons of one Mr.

Hen. 8. Mr. Cressy: where upon the king's progress  
 ~~~~~ thither, he met with his chaplain and almoner  
 Dr. Fox, (afterwards bishop of Hereford) who
 lodging with him at Mr. Cressy's, discoursed
 the king's divorce. Cranmer conceived that the
 speediest course were to prove the unlawfulness
 of the match by scripture; whence it would
 follow, that the pope at first had no power to
 dispense therewith; and that the universities of
Christendom would sooner and truer decide the
 case than the court of Rome. This passage
 Fox reports to the king, who well pleased thereat,
 professeth that *this man had the Sow by the right
 Ear*: glad was the king to see him, (indeed he
 had a comely person, and a pleasing counte-
 nance;) more to hear him enlarge himself on
 the former subject, that it was above the pope's
 power to dispense with God's word in the king's
 case: what he said to the king, he was sent to
 make it good to the pope; whither, invested
 with the arch-deaconry of Taunton, he went
 with Thomas Bullein earl of Wiltshire; whose
 first address to the pope, was to present a book
 of Cranmer's, *proving God's Law indispensable
 with by the Pope*: the author is preferred to the
 great title of *Supreme Penitentiary*, and the
 treatise is promised a consideration and debate:
 but the pope delaying, and according to Cran-
 mer's advice, ten universities declaring against
 him; the ambassador returns to England, and
 the disputant goes to Vienna, where in Osiander's
 house (whose kinswoman he had married)
 he confirmed those that wavered, satisfied those
 that doubted, and won those that contradicted in
 king Henry's cause. : But he served not king
 Hen-

Thomas Cranmer, *Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.* 47

Henry more faithfully in Germany, than he provided for him honourably in England; where the king's cause waited for his assistance, and the see of Canterbury for his acceptance: he was willing to promote religion, he was unwilling (for some formalities he scrupled) to advance himself: but after seven weeks delay, it being as fatal to refuse king Henry's favours, as to offer him injuries, he is archbishop in his own defence; in which capacity, to serve the king, and salve his own conscience, he used the expedient of a protestation to this purpose: * *In nomine, &c. Non est nec erit meae voluntatis aut intentionis per hujusmodi Juramentum & Juramenta, qualiter verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquid ratione eorundem post hac dicendum, faciendum aut attestandum, quod erit aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra Regem, aut Rempublicam, legesve, aut Prærogativa ejus: & quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum quovis modo me obligare quo minus libere loqui, consulere, & consentire valeam in omnibus & singulis Reformationem Ecclesiæ, prerogativam Coronæ, concernentibus, & ea exequi & reformare quæ in Ecclesia Anglicana reformanda videbuntur.* This protestation he made three times; once at the Charter-House,

* In the name, &c. It is not nor shall not be my will and intention by any oath or oaths of this kind, or by any words that may seem analagous in them, to bind myself to any thing, or by virtue hereof to say, act, or attest afterwards any thing that shall be or seem to be against the law of God, or against the king's the government, the laws or prerogative. All I intend by this, and no more, is to speak, consult, and consent freely to all and singular the things concerning the reformation of the church, and the prerogative of the crown; and to go on, and reform those things which shall seem necessary to be reformed in the church of England.

Hen. 8. House, another time at the altar, and a third time at the receiving of his pall. In his place he was moderate, between the superstition of Rome and the phrensies of Munster. As he was chief instrument in beginning the reformation, so he was in continuing it: he withstood the six articles, and (and though the king sent five prime ministers of state to comfort him) would not be satisfied, until he saw them mitigated in king Henry's time, and repealed in king Edward's.

Gardiner would have questioned him for entertaining foreign hereticks, and promoting domestick schisms; the northern rebels accused him for subverting the church: but the king upheld him against both; suppressing the one, and checking the other; and advising the good man, whom he called fool, for his meek disposition, to appeal to him: whereupon Russel cried, *The King will never suffer him to be imprisoned, until you find Him guilty of High Treason.* He is to be pitied for his intermediate failings, but renowned for his final constancy.

The king having declared before all his servants, that Cranmer was his best servant, he employeth him in his best service, the reformation of religion, wherein all others failed; but the king, Cromwel, and Brandon backed him so far, that he had the bible and the necessary offices of the church translated into english: he had both universities at his command: he brought the lords house and convocation to his lure; and was invested with a power. 1. To grant dispensations in all things not repugnant to God's law, nor the king's safety: 2. To determine ecclesiastical causes.

causes. He as charitably as politickly advised Hen. 8. the king to accept of bishop Fisher's partial subscription, considering his learning and reputation. As he is king Henry's instrument at Dunstable, to divorce him from queen Catherine; so he is at Lambeth, to divorce him from Anna Bullein. He promoted in the convocation all primitive doctrines, and condemned all new-fangled opinions. He was so charitable, that he interceded with the king for his enemies; so munificent, that he made the church and his own house a refuge for strangers; particularly for P. Fagius, P. Martyr, Martin Bucer, &c. The king loved him for his integrity, the people for his moderation: he was *called* the king's *Father*, and *was* queen Elizabeth's *Godfather*: his piety reduced the church, and his policy the state: he spake little to others, he conferred much with himself: three words of his could do more than three hours discourse of others: he would say, as *Victorinus*, *There is a time to say nothing, there is a time to say something, but there is never a time to say all things*. That king, who awed all others, feared him. A second to the eternal power, is the wise man uncorrupt in his life. He was the *Executor* of *God's Will* in king Henry's life-time, and the first of *His*, after his death.

As *He* spurred king Henry to a reformation, so king Edward did *Him*; whose prudence was not so forward as the other's zeal, who looked at what was lawful, as he did at what was convenient. He maintained the churches power as resolutely against bishop Hooper's scruples, notwithstanding potent intercession; as he reformed its corruptions against the pope's interest, notwithstanding

Hen. 8. withstanding a general opposition. He allowed ~~not~~ the least error in, nor the least contempt of the church: he restored its primitive doctrine and discipline, lest it should be an *impure Church*; he upheld them, lest it should be *none*. He was one of the fourteen that compiled the *Common-Prayer*: he was one of two that set out the homilies; and the only man that published the *Institution of a Christian man*, and other good books. With his advice king Edward did much, and designed more: he was the chief author of king Edward's injunctions, and the first commissioner in them: he was president of the assembly at Windsor, (for Reformation) and of the council at London: his articles were strict and severe; as much grounded on the canon of scripture, as on the canons of the church: he convinced more papists with his reason and moderation, than others by their power: his heart never failed him in his life, and it was not burned at his death. He *did* so much for the protestant religion in king Henry's days, that he foresaw he should *suffer* for it in queen Mary's. He was unwilling to wrong queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, therefore he refused at first to sign king Edward's *Testament*, but duke Dudley's *Will*: he was willing to continue the protestant religion, therefore he signed it at last. It was a bishop that was one of the first that abolished popery in England, and one of the last that died for protestantisme: it was a bishop that maintained the protestant cause with arguments while he lived, and with his blood when he died. This prelate's endeavor for reformation is shadowed by this mystical relation.

The castle of truth (being by the king of Hen. 8. Jerusalem left to the guard and keeping of his best servant *Zeal*) the king of Arabia (with an infinite host) came against it, begirt it round with an unreasonable siege, cuts off all passages, all reliefs, all hopes of friends, meat, or munition: which *Zeal* perceiving, and seeing how extremity had brought her to shake hands with despair; he calleth his council of war about him, and discovered the affliction of his state, the puissance of his enemies, the violence of the siege, and the impossibility of conveying either messages or letters to the great king his master, from whom they might receive new strength and encouragement. Whereupon the necessity of the occasion being so great, they concluded that there was no way but to deliver up the castle (though upon some unwholsome conditions into the hand of the enemy) but *Zeal* staggereth at the resolution, and being loath to loose hope as long as hope had thread or hair to hold by; he told them he had one friend or companion in the castle, who was so wise, so valiant, and so fortunate, that to him and his exploits alone, he would deliver up the manage of their safety; this was *Prayer*, chaplain to the great king, and priest of that colony; then *Prayer* was called for, and all proceedings debated: he presently armeth himself with humility, clemency, sincerity and fervency; and in spight of the enemy passeth his camp, comes to the king his master, and with such moving passion entereth his eares, so that presently an army is rayfed, which returning under the conduct of *Prayer*, overthroweth the king of Arabia, makes spoyl of his camp,

Hen. 8. and gives to the castle of truth its first noble
 liberty.

*Observations on Sir Thomas More, Lord
 Chancellour of England.*

Lloyd.


HE rose up high, because he stept out well, sir Thomas More was half way *Chancellour*, when born to sir John More *Chief Justice*. The father's prudence, wit, and nobleness flowed with his blood to the son's veins: *Much* honour he received *from* his family, *more* he gave *to* it: his mother saw his face shining in a dream, on her wedding night; and his father saw his life so really: a quick city-spirit made him capable of great state-employments.

He was saved by a *Miracle*, and was *One*: *For his Nurse riding with him over a water, and being in some danger, threw him over a Hedge, where she found him not hurt, but sweetly smiling upon her.* *

A free-school seasoned his forward childhood; and the grave, wise, and excellent cardinal Morton's house his youth: the one with learning, to make him a scholar; the other with prudence to make him a man: but the distractions of that house were not so proper for his promising ingenuity, as the retirements of the university; where in two years time he shewed what wonders wit and diligence could do in rhetorick, logick, and philosophy: the † colledge kept him strict,
 and

* *St. Antonies under New-Hall.*

† *Christ-Church.*

and his father short, so that (as he blessed God Hen. 8. afterward) *He had neither the leisure nor the means*  *to be vicious*: the cardinel said he would be *Great*, and his excellent genius said he would be *Humble*: the lord chancellour would give place *to*, and ask blessing of the lord chief justice: the father being not more happy in his son, than the son in his father. At 17 *his wit* was eminent for his epigrams: his *Antilucian* oration commended by all men but Brixius, for pure, genuine and flowing: at 18 his wisdom in overcoming his antagonist Brixius with kindness, and himself with mortifications. His fastings were *frequent*, his watchings on the hard ground *severe*; his hair-cloath even in his chancellourship *course*, his exercises among the Carthusians in Charterhouse for four years *austere*; his design for the *Franciscan* hood, and a priesthood with his friend Lilly, *solemn*; his prayers *uninterrupted*; when the king sent for him once at mass, he answered, that *when he had done with God, he would wait on his Majesty*: he imitated Picus Mirandula's life, and *writ* it: he heard Dr. Collet his confessours sermons, and followed his life; whose experience was his counsel, whose conversation was his life. He could not away with the good sermon of a bad man: Collet was his father; Linacre, Lilly, Grocine, were his friends. He learned more by prayer, than he did by study: his poems were acute, his speeches pure and copious, his latine elegant; yet his head was knotty and logical: his diet was temperate, his apparel plain, his nature tractable and condescending (though very discerning) to the meanest mens counsel; his vertues solid, not boasted. In

Hen. 8. a word, the foundation of his life was as low as
 { the building was to be high.


Words and terms being not by nature, but imposition, **verborum ut nummorum*; those were best liked by him that were most current amongst the best artists; he fearing new words as leading to new things: though the quitting of ancient and allowed expressions to affect new phrases will be no advantage at long run; for whatsoever be the forms of speaking, the state of things will be the same; and the very argument, that convinceth an erroneous person now in the old received and orthodox language, would convince him likewise in the new wayes of speaking, which he desires to introduce, after it is formed, and generally understood: all the benefit that he could make of it, would be only a little time between the suppression of the one, and the introduction of the other, wherein he might juggle and play *Hocus Pocus* under the cloak of *Homonymous* and *Ambiguous* expressions. In vulgar appellations we are to speak as the common people; but in terms of art (which saith Scaliger are † *rudibus ingeniis acerba, delicatis ridicula*.) we are to follow the most approved artists, the mushroome errors and hæresies springing up in his time he advised should be rather suppressed by discipline, than increased by disputations; they, who in the common principles of religion clash ordinarily with the whole church; who so affectedly swerve from the approved rules, and healthful constitutions of all orderly common-wealths, to the disturbance of all humane society,

* Of words as of money.

† Harsh to the ignorant, ridiculous to the refined.

society, and the cutting off of all relations between man and man; they who cannot preserve unity with themselves, but are ever and anon interfering and tripping up their own heels by contradictions, need no just confutation, or single, or other adversary than God, themselves, and all mankind; since their opinions are grounded upon their own imaginations, rather than approved authority; and they interpret scripture not according to the perpetual tradition of the church, but according to their own distempered fancies, and that in discourses more full fraught, with supercilious confidence, than deep reason: it were a folly to draw the saw of contention with them, especially in such a case where it is impiety to doubt, and blasphemy to dispute; * *Quid cum illis agas; qui neque jus, neque bonum aut æquum sciunt? Melius, pejus, prodest, obest, nil vident nisi quod lubet.* Such daring mens opinions, creating truth, and falsehood by the words of their mouth, being like a pillar of smoak breaking out of the top of some narrow chimney, and spreading it self abroad like some cloud, as if it threatened to take possession of the whole region of the ayr, darkening the skye, and seeming to press the heavens; and after all this, when it hath offended the eyes a little for the present, the first puffle of wind, or a few minutes do altogether disperse it. The little mouse stealeth up through the elephant's trunk to eat his brains; the Indian rat creepeth into

* What can you do with those who are totally ignorant of justice, goodness or equity? Right or wrong equally influence them, since they distinguish nothing but as they please.

Hen. 8. into the belly of the gaping crocodile; and the  least opposition overthrows these great pretenders, especially if you give them line and space enough to bounce and tumble up and down, and tire themselves out.

Great he judged was the influence religion had upon humane societies, whether we consider the nature of the thing, or the blessing of God; without which they are soapy bubbles, quickly dissolved. Cicero could say that Rome ought more of its grandeur to religion, than either to strength or stratagems; we have not exceeded the Spaniards in number, nor the Gaules in strength, nor the Carthaginians in craft, nor the Græcians in art, &c. but we have overcome all nations by our piety and religion.

He esteemed all common-wealths happy, but those wherein preachers, like the Græcian sophisters, described in Plato all whatsoever pleased the great beast [the multitude] holy, just, and good; and whatsoever the great beast disliked, evil, unjust, prophane.

He married himself to * vertue, and not to an estate: he likes a younger sister, yet out of civility he embraceth the elder. Happy he was in his modest wives, happier in his hopeful children. His government of his family was exact, enjoining all his children to *take Vertue for their meat, and Play for their sauce*. His proficiency in the * law was admirable, his practice successful, his judgment solid, his integrity eminent; his determinations in the sheriffs court, his activity for the stilyard, his practice in the courts of
of

* He married mr. Colt's daughter of New-hall.

† Whereby he was double reader.

of justice, raised him to a place in parliament: where he was so good a patriot, that he displeased king Henry the seventh; and so wise a man, that he awed king Henry the eight: the one by Fox demands one subsidie and three fifteens, and the *beardless boy* (as the courtiers called sir Thomas) disappointed him; the other made a motion by Wolsey, which he overthrew, so that the cardinal wished him at Rome.

He retires to his studies to avoid Henry the seventh's displeasure, and improves them to gain his son's favour, who by his cardinal invited him to court, and employed him abroad to France to recover his debts; to Flanders, to confirm the peace. Employments he avoided a while, to keep his city-interest; and in case of controversy with the king, to prevent their jealousy: his business was so urgent, that you would think he had not no leisure; and his writings so exact, that you would think he had no business. Not a minute of his time escaped employment. His history of Richard the third is faithful, his *Utopia* is judicious and elegant, his * lectures at St. Laurence were learned and pious.

His popularity in parliament commended him to his majesty: his strong arguments for the popeship in star-chamber, brought him to him against his modest inclination, as much as against Wolsey's interest. His ability set him on the council-table, his integrity placed him in the exchequer: his † services promoted him to the dutchy of Lancaster, his dexterity and prudence made him the king's bosome friend, and his familiar

* On St. Aug. de civitate Dei.

† He was made Chancellour of that Dutchy.

Hen. 8. familiar all his spare hours; whose questions in every art and science were not more useful, than sir Thomas his answers were satisfactory. His advice was his majesties and his queen's oracles in counsel; his discourse was their recreation at table. He was not more delightful to the king at court, than he was serviceable to him in appeasing tumults, &c, in the city. He was the king's favourite at White-hall, and the peoples darling at Westminster, where he was speaker as well with the unanimous consent of the one, as with the approbation of the other; and between both, impartial, equally careful of prerogative and priviledges; neither awed from right by power, nor flattered with popularity. He declined foreign services with as much dexterity as he managed domestick ones. He served the king faithfully, but trusted him not, as one that enjoyed and suspected fortune, saying, *If his Head could win King Henry a Castle in Wales, it would off.*

The king and kingdome trusted him, *who * was that one sound Councillour the King had.* The cardinal told him he was the veriest fool in the council: he replied, *God be thanked my Master bath but one fool here.*

His honour was set off by a grave condescension, and a grave humility. Did he argue? he was very moderate, civil, and modest. Did he reprove? he was pitiful, grave, and prudent. Was he with the king at the university? he was ready and eloquent. Was he abroad? he heard the

* Queen Catherine said so.

the lectures attentively, and disputed accurately.* Hen. 8. To his friend as Dr. Tunstal, none more faithful: to learned men as Erasmus, none more civil: to devout men such as bishop Fisher, none more firm; to hopeful men, such as Powle, there was none more encouraging: to painful men, such as Grocinus, Linacer, Crocus, Lupfel, Lilly, Cocklee, Budlera, Dorpin, Bewald, Luscar, Grannould, Vives, Groclenius, Bullidian, Ægidius, Rhenanus, none more familiar, constant, or liberal: in his conscience none more satisfied and sedate: in his discourse none more innocent and pleasant: in his heart none more devout and sincere.

His meditations were frequent; his retirements to a chappel, built of purpose, daily; his prayers constant and zealous; his conversation with his wives, loving and debonnair, taking them off their cares to reading and musick. His servants were always employed either in his, or God's service, suffering them not by idleness to be at leisure for sin, nor by wanton converse to be tempted to it. His table-talk after the chapter was pleasing and useful, his counsels useful, his converse exemplary; his family instructions to bear afflictions patiently, to withstand temptations resolvedly, to mind heavenly matters devoutly, to go plainly and soberly, to recreate themselves moderately and vertuously, were effectual. There went a blessing along with all his servants, and happiness with his whole family.

His apothegms were grounded on experience and judgement. He would say, 1. *He was not always*

† A. fellow at Bruges would undertake to answer any question: Sir Thomas put up this, "Averia capta in Withernamia sint irreplegiabilia," to that Thrafos great amazement.

Cattle taken in Withernam are not repleivable.

Hen. 8. *always merry that laughed.* 2. *The world is undone by looking on things at distance.* 3. *To aim at honour here, is to set up a Court of arms over a prison-gate.* 4. *If I would employ my goods well, I may be contented to loose them; if ill, I should be glad.* 5. *He that is covetous when he is old, is as a thief that steals when he is going to the gallows.* 6. *Bags of gold to us when saints, will be but as a bag of pebble-stones when men.* 7. *The greatest punishment in the world were to have our wishes.* 8. *Puſillanimity is a great temptation.* 9. *Affliction undoes many; Pleasure moſt.* 10. *We go to hell with more pain than we might go to heaven with.* Of heresie he said, *Like as before a great storm the sea swelleth, and bath unwonted motions without any wind stirring; so may we see here many of our Englishmen, which a few years ago could not endure to bear the name of an Heretick or Schismatick, now to be contented both to suffer them, and to praise them somewhat, yea, to learn by little and little, as much as they can be suffered, to finde fault, and to tax willingly the church, the clergy, and the ceremonies.* 11. *The more of any thing else we have, but riches, the more good we are.* 12. *Who would not send his alms to heaven? Who would not send his estate whether he is to be banished?* 13. *Some men hate hypocrisie and love impudence.* 14. *When any detracted others at his table, he said, Let any man think as he pleaseth, I like this room well.* 15. *It's easier to prevent than redress.*

Indeed throughout his works he argueth sharply, he reasoneth profoundly, he urgeth aptly, stateth exactly, expresseth himself elegantly, and discourseth learnedly. He would rather convince than punish; yet he would rather punish than

than indulge them : his epitaph bespeaking him grievous to hereticks, thieves and murtherers.

When king Henry scrupled his first marriage, Sir Thomas told him, *That neither he nor my lord of Durham were so fit to advise him in that case, as St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and the other Fathers.* His advice was so unseasonable, that it opposed the king ; yet so grave and honest, that it pleased him. His experience and prudence had a fore-sight next door to prophecy ; and from the unquiet times of King Henry, did he guess the ruine of King Charles. He would say that it would never be well in *England*, until the same course obtained there, that did in Syria, where Seleucus was so severe against Innoyators, that he enacted that if any man made a proposition for a change in their policy, he should make it with an halter about his neck, that if he failed to justify it by reason, he should justify his attempt by suffering---because as some philosophers hold, that there is not so much as an aspin leaf stirreth in one part of the world, but it maketh some alteration in the whole, the efficacy it, like Drake and Cavendish compassing the globe of the earth, and making the eighth sphere of heaven tremble : so wise men know that every change in a state altereth the constitution, and the effects of an innovation in the body politick circlet, as do those of a new impression, according to Harvey's method upon a body natural: though I must confess that many new proposals are opposed, not for the distant effects of them feared in the common-wealth, but for some neer influence they may have upon some men's private interest. --It hath been given out, that the burning of our
heaths

Hen. 8. heaths in England, did hurt their vines in France: but wise men looked upon this pretense, as a meer scare-crow, or made-dragon; the hurt it did was neerer home, to destroy the young moore-fowles, and spoyl some young burgessees game.—He converted many with his arguments, more with his prayers, which workt wonders of reformation on the erroneous, as they did of recovery on the weak. He wished three things to *Christendom*: 1. An universal peace: 2. An uniform religion: 3. A reformation rather of lives than religion. He never asked any thing of his Majesty but employment, and never took any thing more acceptable than service. His alms were liberal to his neighbours, and good-works numerous towards God. He would take no fees from the poor, and but moderate ones from the rich. All London was obliged to him for his counsel at home, and all England for his peace at Cambray, where he out-did expectation.

The king raised him to the chancellorship, but not to his own opinion: he professed he would serve his majesty, but he *must* obey his God: he would keep the king's *conscience* and his *own*. His wisdom and parts advanced him, his innocence and integrity ruined him: his wit pleased the king, but his resolution crossed him. Wolsey was not so proud and reserved, as Sir Thomas was open and free to the meanest; his mind was not so dazzled with honour, but he could for-see his fall. When his sons complained how little they gained under him; *I will do justice* (said he) *for your sakes to any man, and I will leave you a blessing*; decreeing one day against his own son that would not hear reason. First, he offered the judges

judges the reformation of grievances ; and when Hen. 8. they refused, he did it himself.---No *subpoena* was granted but what he ^{*} saw, no order but what he perused : nothing passed from him towards the subject, but what became a good magistrate, nothing towards his master, but what became a faithful servant. Neither King nor Queen could corrupt, neither could the whole church in convocation fasten any thing upon him. To one who told him of his detractors, he said, *Would you have me punish those by whom I reap more benefit than by all you my friends?* Perfect patience is the companion of true perfection.

But he managed not his trust with more integrity and dexterity, than he left it with honour ; leaving not one cause undecided in the *Chancery*: foreseeing that he could not at once content his majesty and his own heart. His servants upon his fall he disposed of as well as his children ; and his children he taught to live soberly in a great estate, and nobly in a mean one. He never put an heretick to death when chancellor, neither would he suffer heresies to live when a private man. When my Lord Cromwel came to him in his retirement, he advised him to tell the king what he ought, not what he can do ; *so shall you shew yourself a true and faithful servant, and a right worthy counsellour : for if a Lyon knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him.* The king feared him when he could not gain him, and therefore he was sited in his former carriage and present temper, which continued constant to his duty

* With the cause attested by the attorney, in token whereof when one Tubb brought him a Subpoena to subscribe, finding it frivolous, he writ under it, A tale of a Tub.

Hen. 8. duty, and even under his changes. He was open-hearted to all that came, yet so wary in his discourse with the maid of Kent, that his enemies confessed he deserved rather honour than a check for that matter. When the Duke of Norfolk told him, *that the wrath of a prince is death*; he said, *Nay, if that be all, you must die to morrow, and I to-day*. He behaved himself at all examinations at once wisely and honestly. When archbishop Cranmer told him, *he must obey the king which was certain, rather than follow his conscience, that Lesbian rule which was uncertain*; he replied, *It's as certain that I must not obey the king in evil, as that I must follow my conscience in good*. When the abbot of Westminster told him, *his conscience should yield to the wisdom of the kingdom*, he said, *He would not conform his conscience to one kingdom, but to the whole church*. He underwent his sufferings with as much cheerfulness as his preferment; pleasing himself with his misfortunes, and enjoying his misery; resolving to obey God rather than man, to leave others to their own consciences; to close with the Catholick church rather than the church of England, and to submit to general councils rather than to parliaments.

Mr. Rich put to him this question, *Whether if the parliament made a law that he were pope, would he not submit to it?* And he replied, *If the parliament made another that God should not be God, would you obey it?* Though he could not own the king's supremacy, yet he would not meddle with it either in his writings or discourse; shewing himself at once a civil man, a good Christian, and a noble confessor. His soul was well settled; his stature was mean, but well proportioned; his com-

complexion phlegmatique ; his countenance amiable and cheerful ; his voice plain and distinct ; and his temper sound and healthful. Hen. 8.

I can add nothing to the *honour* of this good man, yet will I pay this further devotion to his *virtue*, whereof honour *was* a *testimony*, as long as it *was* its *self* : worthless men having made the honour bestowed on them as *despicable* as themselves that wore it ; that royal favour receiving more contempt from them, than it gave reputation to them. A good name, the great instrument of doing good while we live, and our other life when dead, could (he said) if any thing justify the barbarous way of duels : since he is the most bloody man to himself, that is careless of reputation. So as to be indifferent what he doth ; or what others say ; is to bury himself alive.

His credit, which he said was his royalty (there being but two empires in the world, the one a general love and esteem, the other common dread and fear---) put him upon, being watchful for occasions, constant in his actions, moderate in prosperity ; resolute in encounters ; calme in troubles, above fortune, and able to make and piece up the broken miscarriages of chance, that he might be settled in that state, which is the work of greatness, and the inheritance of goodness, the prospect whereof is pleasant (though the ascent be sharp and slippery, the top shaking, the footing uncertain, and the downfall fearful :) and the reflections of it, when moderated with humility like those of the sun, when allayed in his declension, pleasing and chearful. Towards the attainment whereof, the lives of former worthies were such incitements to this, as Hercules was to

Hen. 8. Theseus, Militades to Themistocles, and Achilles
 { to Alexander;---And nothing, the good man
 would discourse, should men be more tender of,
 than of mens honour, since there were but two
 effectual restraints from vice, *shame* and fear; and
 but two motives to virtue, honour and interest;
 the first of which is so much the darling peculi-
 arly of the English nation; that this is called by a
 French author, the land of honour. His fall
 was attended with a greater fame than his height;
 as the sun in the evening hath a greater shadow
 than at noon.

Who is the honest man?

*He that doth still and strongly good pursue,
 To God, his Neighbour and himself most true:*

*Whom neither force nor fawning can
 Unpin or wrench from giving all their due.*

Whose honesty is not

*So loose and easie, that a ruffling winde,
 Can blow away, or glitt'ring look it blinde:*

*Who rides his sure and even trot
 While the world now rides by, now lags behinde.*

*Who, when great trials come,
 Nor seeks, nor shuns them; but doth calmly stay,
 Till be the thing and the example weigh*

*All being brought into a sum,
 What place or person calls for, he doth pay.*

*Whom none can work or wooe
 To use in any thing a trick or sleight;
 For above all things he abhors deceit:*

*His words and works and fashion too
 All of a piece, and all are clear and streight.*

Who

*Who never melts or thaws
At close tentations : when the day is done,
His goodness sets not, but in dark can run :
The Sun to others writeth laws,
And is their virtue ; virtue is his sun.*

*Who, when he is to treat
With sick folks, women, those whom passion sway,
Allows for that, and keeps his constant way ;
Whom others faults do not defeat,
But though men fail him, yet his part doth play.*

*Whom nothing can procure,
When the wide world runs bias, from his will
To writhe his limbs, and share, not mend the ill,
This is the mark-man, safe and sure,
Who still is right, and prays to be so still.*

Observations on the Life of Thomas Cromwel, Earl of Essex.

*Most of them from the notes of Thomas Cromwel,
Esquire, one of his posterity, who made a collec-
tion of observations upon him, 1633. from the
ancestors of Baronet Worsley, and Sir Ralph
Hopton, who had been his servant.*

PUTNEY saw his cradle in a cottage, and Lloyd.
England saw his coffin in a ditch ; his ori-
ginal was mean, his end meaner : a sudden
height in an unsettled time ruined him : A mo-
derate and leisurely greatness is safe. His blood
ran low, but pure, ennobling the veins it flowed
in

Hen. 8. in with a spirit that was to raise a family, and *deserve* that honour that others *inherit*. His honest parents conveyed him a strong constitution that could support stronger parts: The poor mans good temper is an inheritance, and the rich his effeminacy his disease.

A private school civilized his parts; travel and employment improved them: his necessity, when at home, made him a *Soldier* abroad; and his observations abroad made him a *Man* at home: the experience of travel enlarged his soul, and the hardship of war knitted and consolidated it: his *bad Fortune at Cambray* was the occasion of his *good One in England*; and had he not been undone, he *bad been undone*: for his promising looks commended him to Frelcobald the merchant for relief, and to cardinal Wolsey for service, in whose private service of *Secretary* for his embassie in France, he prepared himself for that more publick of *Secretary of State* in England. Great scholar he was none, (the latine testament gotten by heart being his master-piece) nor studied lawyer: never admitted to the innes of court; nor experienced souldier, though necessity cast him upon it, when the duke of Bourbon besieged Rome; nor courtier (till bred up in cardinal Wolsey's court:) yet that of the lawyer in him so helped the scholar, that of the souldier the lawyer, that of the courtier the souldier, and that of the traveller all the rest; being no stranger to Germany, well acquainted with France, most familiar with Italy; so that the result of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to say admirable. His apprehension was quick and clear; his judgment

me-

methodical and solid; his memory strong and Hen. 8. rational; his tongue fluent and pertinent; his presence stately and obliging; his heart large and noble; his temper patient and cautious; his way industrious and indefatigable; his correspondence well laid, and constant; his converse insinuating and close: none more *dexterous* to finde out by his setting-dogges, and coy-ducks, none more *reserved* to keep a secret. He was equal (saith my author) to the French politicians, when under his master; he over-reached them when alone; doing more in one month with his subtle head, than the other in twelve months with his stately train. The king of France would have *pensioned* up his parts, but the vice-roy of England advanced them. His master brought him first to serve his country in parliament (that great school of experience) and then his king at court; where defending his master's great actions, he made it evident he could perform greater. His saying in defence of his master, that new states-men, like fresh flies, bite deeper than those which were chased away before them, stuck much with the house, that was then sensible, that many of the country-gentlemen discoursed of the court-states-men, but with the same success that the gown-man harangued it before Alexander of military affairs, who laughed at the scholar for talking of war to a souldier: his defence of his master being the more observable for his civilities to his adversaries, he being very cautious of reflecting upon his patrons enemies, while he excused him, the bespattering of others being not the best method of purging him, and *Memnon* gave a railing souldier

Hen. 8. Iouldier a good blow with his launce, saying, *I hired thee to fight, and not to raile.*—Neither delighted he in being the *Davus*, the troubler of the *Parliament*, which he observed play'd the part of fond musicians, which spend so much time in tuning their instruments; that there is none left to spare for their musick.—He wished that our reformation might be in one respect, like the reformation of the Turkes, who thought that the best way to understand the *Alcoran*, was to burn all the interpreters, it being true of the *Bible*, what one observeth of one text of it, that was clear before it was commented upon: a truth become seasonable [as there is no new thing under the sun, and what hath been, will be] in a less revolution of time, than Plato's great year, even in our times, when passion guides religion, that should be governed by it, as being without it, but a short madness turning man into a wild beast that is goared, which runneth upon every thing that cometh it its way, without consideration: or like a violent torrent descending down impetuously from a steep hill: which beareth down all respects before it, divine and humane; for whilst passion is in the height, there is no room for reason, nor any use of the dictates of the understanding, the mind for the time being like the *Cyclopi*an cave, where no man heard what another said,—only what they want in them singly in reason, may joyntly be made up in noise; and their respective defects in arguments, be supplied by their communion in suffrage.—And it is the wisdom of those, who are concerned in what they oppose, to stand out of their way, at least till the storm be over;

* ——— *Omnis campis diffugit Arator*


Hen. 8.

Omnis & Agricola ———————— *Dum pluit in terris, ut possint sole reducto
Exercere diem.* ———

Their reason with time and due consideration will be better attended to, when this earnestness hath a little spent its self into a calmness and allay. Such was his wit, such his eloquence, that they who hated the client, admired the advocate: and though he could not keep his patron from falling, yet he raised himself; that being the first time his eminent parts were observed. An advantageous starting is more than half way in the race of preferment. For hereupon he is first master of the king's jewels, and then of what was more precious, his *Secrets*. His conscience inclined him to the churches reformation, his interest complied with the king's; he unlocked the secrets of monasteries by his spies, and put the king upon destroying them by his power. The university of Cambridge made him chancellor, to save it self; where though he did no great good, yet his greatness kept others from doing harm, in an age wherein covetousness could quarrel a colledge, as well as an abbey, into superstition. He was trusted by the king with the rolls and records of England; and by the scholars, with the charters and statutes of their universities. He reforms the university, in order to the re-

* As when thick hail comes ratling in the wind,
The plowman, passenger, and lab'ring hind
For shelter to the neighb'ring covert fly,
Or hous'd, or safe in hollow caverns lye:
But that o'er blown, when heaven above 'em smiles,
Return to travel, and renew their toils.

Dryden's Virgil, *Æned* 10.

Hen. 8. reformation of the church ; enjoyning the study of  the scripture and the tongues, instead of school-divinity and barbarism ; recommending *Aristotle*, *Agricola*, *Melancthon*, to their reading ; and the doctrine which is in spirit and in truth to their faith : and razing the pope's bulls, to make way for the king's favour, and that architectonical power, to see that all subjects within his dominion, do their duties in their several callings, for the safety and tranquility of the common-wealth.

He was an eminent minister of state, and chief governour of the church ; proceeding in convocation very discreetly, modelling the church laws very prudently and moderately : looking into monastical abuses very narrowly and industriously ; mawling religious houses, violently pulling down those nests, that the rooks might not return : his master had disobliged the pope, and he weakeneth him. It was not safe to disown his supremacy, and entertain thousands of his creatures : *If a Kingdom be divided against it self, it cannot stand* ; and if one part of the English pay their devotion to a supream head at Rome, and another to a supream governour in England, they must both fall. If the persons might disturb the government, it is fit their estates should secure it ; and if the papists should foment a war, their lands should maintain it : but Cromwell contrives that the Pope should confirm alienations in Wolsey, before he should practise it for the king. As the king knew whom he employed, when he trusted him : so he knew whom he trusted, when he employed doctor Lee (an able servant to an abler master) he first decoyed religious men out of their convents by the allurements of

of *Liberty*, and then forced them out by *Power* Hen. 8. and *Authority*. As the abbeyes improved his estate, so his master advanced his honour. He had one privy seal always to act by, and was keeper of another : he had no sooner attained an earldom for himself, but foreseeing the alteration of affairs, he secured a barony for his son, not forfeitable by the attainder of the father. Within five years he was master of the jewel-house, chancellor of the exchequer, secretary of state, baron, and viscount Wimbledon in Middlesex, vicar general, master of the rolls, knight of the garter, keeper of the privy seal, lord high chamberlain, and earl of Essex, justice in eyre of forests, chases, and parks, &c. *N. Trent*. Within five months he quitted most of these places, and in five minutes lost all. He must needs be envied, whose birth was so much beneath all others, and his preferment above them : especially when the king in preferring him injured others ; as, the citizens, in managing the jewels ; the courtiers, in undertaking state-affairs ; the lawyers, in the rolls * ; the nobly descended, at † Windsor ; the clergy, in the ‡ convocation ; the earl of Oxford, and the family of the Bouchiers, in the great chamberlainship and earldom of Essex. But he cares not whom he displeaseth, if he can oblige his master ; whose power he advanceth in the parliament and synod, as he improveth his revenue in the office of first-fruits, and the court of augmentation. His greatness was allayed with his goodness ; and the envy of
the

* When master thereof.


† When knight of the garter.

‡ When vicar general.

Hen. 8. the one, mitigated by the liberality of the other :
 ~~~~~ he had not more suiters at his door than almes-  
 men (two hundred at a time :) as he was good  
 abroad, so he was at home, calling upon his ser-  
 vants yearly, to give him an account what they  
 had got under him ; and what they desired of  
 him, warning them to improve their opportuni-  
 ties ; because he said, he was too great to stand  
 long ; providing for them as carefully, as for  
 his son, by his purse and credit, that they might  
 live as handsomely when he was dead, as they  
 did when he was alive. Sir Thomas was a name  
 of awe and reverence to the rich, and blessed  
 by the poor : that name, when his fortune and  
 power tempted him to an insolency, \* levelled  
 the proudest citizens house for his conveniency,  
 and bowed the poorest man's knee to his honour,  
 his mind being equal to his success. He could  
 at pleasure work upon the lords by the com-  
 mons, and on the commons by the lords : as  
 cardinal Wolsey perswaded the commons to four  
 shillings in the pound upon the lords president ;  
 and the lords to as much upon the commons :  
 and he kept up the cardinal's way of anticipa-  
 tion, that the people should be always one sub-  
 sidy before-hand. He set up the old taxation of  
 knight-hood at queen Anne's coronation, and  
 levied it, making amends to the people for all  
 his hard impositions : because as *Vespasian* to the  
*Romans*, so *He* to the *English*, was † *Antiquo*  
*cultu victuque præcipuus astricti moris Author* ; by  
 his observing of the ancient diet of the coun-  
 trey,

\* Stowe Sur. London.

† This sentence is englished, by those lines that imme-  
 diately follow it.

they, and the old fashion of apparel, he was to Hen. 8. them a principal author of their frugality. 

He confirms the king's supremacy by a law, and establisheth his daughter Elizabeth's succession by an oath, first taken by the parliament, and then by the kingdom: for whose support he contrives the lesser monasteries should be first escheated, and then the greater. He was so honest, that he acquits queen Anne in his letter to the queen; yet so much a statesman, that he condemn'd her upon the bench.

But to secure the interest of England, he by countenancing the translation, and reading of the English bible, improved its religion; that as some few late acts had disoblged the pope, a new frame of christianity might exclude him: the differences between us and Rome, were to be widened, lest they should *close*; and he judged it prudence to engage the conscience and the estate in one bottom, that he might hold the one out of the tenderness of the other. He used to answer, those that applauded his service in the reformation, that if he should arrogate to himself any part in that revolution of providence, he should be like the flie on the cart-wheel, that said, what a dust do I raise. The king's supremacy cut off the papists, and the six articles the protestants: reformation must be managed leasurely, and alteration of religion by just degrees; instruction preceding execution, and the peoples capacity growing up with their governours regulation. The mountainous expectation of a reformation, some told him merrily ended in a mouse; but he answered sadly, that it had been well it had not ended in a *Mouse-trap*, that  
is

Hen. 8. is a snare to *many* good people; as well as a dis-  
 ~~~~~ appointment to *all*.

The times are troublesome, but Cromwel calm and quiet, and watchful over occurrences; insurrection giving him an advantage of a new settlement. He takes down the occasions and ornaments of idolatry, images, shrines, pilgrimages, &c. and then the thing it self: take off the paint of Rome, and you undo her. As the laws and injunctions, so the alliance of England must secure its interest: a protestant queen must be married to the reformed king; the duke of Cleve's sister must woo the king, that Essex might have that whispered in the king's bosom abed, where he was *best* disposed, which he insinuated into his ear at the council-table where he was *worst*. But the king was not so well pleased with her beauty, as Cromwel was with her religion: which Stephen Gardiner (who hated her for her religion, and Cromwel for his greatness) observing, shewed the king's loose affections, at once how to be rid of his match, and, which he was as weary of, his match-maker. The queen is divorced (being never known by Henry, who disliked her at first view, and kept her rather in policy, to oblige the *German* princes, than of pleasure to fill his own bed.) Cromwel is arrested for presuming to act in some matters of state without the king's privity or commission, and attainted by a procedure he had invented; dying as cunningly as he had lived, for some * ambiguous words which *Power* interpreted to his *Ruine*. His

* As when one said he was accused for disloyalty to the king, he said, he would stab him with his dagger, if he were.

His last words were so wary, that they might Hen. 8. become Bellarmine and Luther at once; that the protestants call them his confession of faith, and the papists his old religion. And neither is he to be blamed, unless his troublesome adversaries will accuse him, as the quarrelsome Roman did his antagonist, *Because he would not receive his weapon fairly with his whole Body*: for confessing his offences against God and the king, in his many employments, he said he died in the *Catholique Faith*. Some will say the protestants think no great gain to have him, and the papists no loss to part with him; yet we must needs confess that he was a *Wise Man*, because he always consulted the learned in the laws about all his proceedings. He was a *Good Man*, witness Frescobald, whose mean person he took notice of, whose small kindness he acknowledged, whose services he condescended to, whose wants he relieved, and whose debts he recovered: he was a *Noble-Man*, because he refused another man's coat of arms who was of his name, saying, *What shall I do with it? for he may pull it off my back at pleasure*. In a word, he was so mean before he rose, so worthy afterwards, that no times had raised but those more troublesome, none ruined him but those most loose of Henry the viii. Some reserved mens parts he compared to meat in a great Colchester oyster, which would hardly requite the pains of opening.---But infinitely was he taken with those who were (as he called them) like the Statues of Apollo, had a lance in one hand, and an harp in another; that is resolution to awe on the one side, and sweetness to oblige on the other.---Being much pleased

Hen. 8. pleased likewise with the reflecting man, who needs not the dull way of Persia, to keep a boy behind him, to bid him remember what he is, and what he ought to do; and with the devout courtier: for as the ennamel, which adorneth the dove's neck, never shines so clear and glorious, as when the sun looks upon it; so great men are never so full of majesty themselves, as when they own the majesty of God; never more Gods among men, as when humble men before God; who [as St. Lewis of France once affirmed] boweth the hearts of men to a subjection to them, who kneel in adoration to him.

He loved not the men that pedantically boasted their reading, but that rationally made use of it; not ridiculously upon all occasions vaunting the shreds of it, but skilfully to good purposes couching the result and substance of it. —So the admirable old man Epictetus, as Lucian calls him that famed stoick, whose lamp was preserved as a relique, and sold for three thousand drachmas, would say, [*Enchir. c. 16*] that sheep bring not their grass to their shepherd, to shew him how much they have eaten, but concocting their meat inwardly do bring forth wool and milk. —True learning is the improvement of other mens studies and experiences by our own meditation, adding to that frame by consideration, which they had built from the ground by many ages observation.

The Lord *Herbert's* Character of

C R O M W E L.

*A*ND to this end came Cromwel, who from being but a Black-smith's Son, found means to travel into foreign Countries, to learn their Languages, and to see the Wars (being a Souldier of Bourbon at the taking of Rome ;) whence returning, he was received into Cardinal Wolsey's service: to whom he so approved himself by his fidelity and diligence, that the King after his fall, voluntarily took him for his servant; in which place he became a special instrument for dissolving the abbeyes and other religious houses, and keeping down the clergy; whom, in regard of their oath to the pope, he usually termed the king's half subjects: and for expelling the monks, he said it was no more than a restoring them to the first institution, of being lay and labouring persons: neither did it move him that so much strictness and austerity of life was enjoyned them in their several orders, since, he said, they might keep it in any condition. But as these reasons again were not admitted by divers learned and able persons, so he got him many enemies, who at last procured his fall; but not before he had obtained successively the dignities of master of the rolls, baron, lord privy seal, vicegerent to the king in spiritualities, knight of the garter, earl of Essex, great chamberlain of England, &c. He was much noted in the exercises of his places of judicature, to have used much moderation; and in his greatest pomp to have

Hen. 8. have taken notice and been thankful to mean persons of his old acquaintance ; and therein had a virtue which his master the cardinal wanted.

As for his other descriptions, I leave them to be taken out of Cranmer's letter formerly mentioned, with some deduction ; for it seems written to the king in more than ordinary favour of his antient service.

Arch-Bishop Cranmer's Character of Cromwel, in a Letter to King Henry the Eighth.

W H O cannot be sorrowful and amazed, that he should be a traitor against your majesty ? he that was so advanced by your majesty, he whose surety was only by your majesty, he who loved your majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God ; he who studied always to set forwards whatsoever was your majesties will and pleasure ; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty ; he that was such a servant in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had : he that was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the princes of noble memory, king John, Henry II, and Richard II. had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously
aban-

abandoned and overbrowen as those good princes Hen. 8. were. After which, he says again, I loved him as my friend, for so I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I saw him bear ever towards your grace, singularly above all other: but now, if he be a traytor, I am sorry that ever I loved, or trusted him; and I am very glad that his treason is discovered in time: but yet again, I am very sorrowful; for who shall your grace trust hereafter, if you might not trust him? alas! I bewail and lament your graces chance herein! I wot not whom your grace may trust. But I pray God continually night and day, to send such a counsellor in his place, whom your grace may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve your grace like to him; and that will have so much solicitude and care to preserve your grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had.

Observations on the Life of Sir

Thomas Audley.

SIR Thomas Audley's birth was generous, his education more: Essex bred him to that honour which his ancestors lost: His soul ennobled his body, and his body graced his soul: The one quick, solid, apprehensive and judicious; the other tall and majestic: King Henry loved a man; and here was one whose austerity was allayed by debonairness, whose gravity was sweetened with pleasantness; whose knowledge was as

G

large

Hen. 8. large as his authority, whose wit was equal with his wisdom; whose memory was strong and judgment solid. His fair estate brought him to the temple; his proficiency in the law, to the court: His *reading* upon the statute of *privileges* commended him to the king's *service*, his *speaking* for the *prerogative* in parliament brought him to the king's *favour*: Although the liberties of the people can never be secured without the prerogative of the sovereign (who cannot do the good they would, if he wants a power to do the evil they fear;) yet his first preferment was to withdraw him from popularity, and the second only to confirm him to sovereignty. *Noble service* is the way to a *Royal one*. His stewardship to the Dutchy of Suffolk, raised him to the attorneyship of that of Lancaster. But in troublesome and designing times a popular orator is a good courtier; and leading parts in parliament or convocation are great merits: In the black parliament he was a member by his own interest, and a speaker by his majesties choice: Sir Thomas More was to serve the crown in the Lords-house, and Sir Thomas Audley was to succeed him in the House of Commons. When Abbey-Lands were bestowed on the king in gross, and returned by him to the leading lords and commons in the retayl, most of that parliament looked for shares; Sir Thomas for the first *cut*, to secure himself with the king. He was always in favour with the Queens, who had no less interest in the Kings *heart*, than the kingdom had in his *head*. The age was uncertain, interest not so; Sir Thomas was fixed on the one, above the alterations of the other; understanding what was most

convenient at a time when there was nothing *law-Men. 8.*
ful. He was well seen in the flexures and wind-
 ings of affairs, at the depth whereof other heads
 not so steady turned giddy : He had the arts of a
 statesman, and the closeness of a politician : re-
 served he was, but no dissembler. “ For if a man
 “ have that penetration of judgement, as he can
 “ discern what things are to be laid ~~open~~, and
 “ what to be kept secret, and what to be shewed
 “ with half sights, and to whom and when,
 “ (which indeed are arts of states and arts of life)
 “ to him an habit of dissimulation is a hinderance
 “ and a poorness.” He (as an able man) was
 always frank and open, but wary ; knowing how
 to stop and turn within the compass of equity and
 honesty. He understood *business* well, and *men*
 better ; and knew King Henry’s temper better
 than himself, whom he surprized always to his
 own bent, never moving any of his suits to him,
 but when in haste, and most commonly amusing
 him with other matter until he passed his request.
 His actions were managed for applause as well as
 service : for when made serjeant, he was the first
 of eleven ; his entertaining-day was the last of
 six : The king, who paid for his dinner, was in-
 vited to it. He watched the circumstances of his
 actions, that they might be taking, as well as
 their issue, that they might be useful ; and con-
 trived that the least of his public actions should
 come off with reputation. He followed the most
 passable rather than the most able men living, in
 a time when active men were more useful than the
 virtuous. Sir Thomas at once gratified the pre-
 sent humour of the king, and the constant temper
 of the people, in six bills against the clergy : 1.

Hen. 8. Against the extortions of their courts. 2. The
 ~~~~~~ exaction of their corps and mortuaries. 3. Their  
 worldly occupations, as grazing, tanning, &c. 4. Merchandize. 5. Their non-residencies. 6.  
 The pluralities of the ignorant, and the mean  
 salaries of the learned. When in some debates  
 between the lords and commons, custome was  
 urged; Sir Thomas replied, *The usage hath ever  
 been for thieves to rob at Shooter's-bill, is it  
 therefore lawful?* He brought the clergy within  
 a *præmunire*, to awe them; and afterwards in  
 their pardon, he and other members included  
 their own; which the knowing king would not  
 pass, when it was demanded as of right; yet after-  
 wards granted it of his own accord, when it was  
 received as of grace. When Sir Thomas More  
 could not act with the times, Sir Thomas Audley  
 could; the one being weary of the seal, the other  
 takes it; being made lord-keeper in Sir Thomas  
 his life-time, and lord-chancellour after his death,  
 owning no opinion against the government of  
 England, nor any design against its interest. The  
 king might well trust him with his conscience,  
 when he trusted the king with *his*, owning no doc-  
 trine but what was established, ever judging the  
 church and state wiser than himself. He was for-  
 ced to *take* Q. Anne, but he would not condemn  
 her; rather *escaping* than *refusing* unwelcome em-  
 ployments, wherein he must either displease his  
 master or himself. He was *tender*, but not *wilful*;  
 waving such services *dexterously*, wherein he must  
 oppose his master *dangerously*. Those insurrections  
 which others rigor had raised, his moderation  
 allayed; breaking the factions with indulgence,  
 which might be strengthened with opposition;  
 Crom-

Cromwel pulled down popery with his power, Hen. 8.  
Audley kept it down with his policy, enjoining  
the preachers to detect the follies of that way,  
which is reckoned the wisdom of this world.  
He had a moderate way to secure the priviledges  
of parliament, by freedom from arrests; and the  
good will of the citizens, by an order about debts.

By these courses he died as much in the kings  
favour as he lived: Patience can weather out the  
most turbulent age, and a solid judgement the  
most intricate times; the reserved and quiet man  
is the most secure. Activity may raise a man,  
wariness keep him up. If he had done nothing,  
he had not been seen; if he had done much, he  
had not been suffered. Between two extreams  
Audley could do well.

*Treasure of arms and arts, in whom were set  
The mace and books, the court and colledge met;  
Yet both so wove, that in that mingled throng  
They both comply, and neither neither wrong.  
But pois'd and temper'd each reserv'd its seat;  
Nor did the learning quench, but guide the heat.  
The courtier was not of the furious strain,  
The hand that acts, doth first consult the brain.  
Hence grew commerce betwixt advice and might,  
The scholar did direct the courtier right.  
And as our perfumes mixt, do all conspire,  
And twist their curls above the hallowed fire,  
Till in that harmony of sweets combin'd,  
We can nor musk nor single amber finde;  
But gums meet gums, and their delights so crowd,  
That they create one undistinguished cloud,  
So to thy mind these rich ingredients prest,  
And were the mould and fabrick of thy brest.*

Hen. 8. Learning and courage mixt, and temper'd so,

 The stream could not decay nor overflow.

And in that equal tide, thou did'st not bear  
From courage, rashness ; nor from learning, fear.

---

*Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wiat.*

Lloyd.

**S**IR Thomas Wiat was born at Allington-castle in the county of Kent, which afterwards he repaired with beautiful buildings. He fell out of his master King Henry the Eight his favour, about the business of Queen Anna Bulein, till his industry, care, discretion and innocence freed him. Very ingenious he was ; or as his anagram tells us he was (*A\*Wit*) in the abstract. Cambden saith he was,

*Eques auratus splendide doctus.*

Holy he was and heavenly minded, and that appears by his translation of David's psalms into English metre ; and Leland gives him this great commendation :

*Bella suum merito jaëtet Florentia Dantem,*

*Regia Petrarchæ Carmina Roma probat,*

*His non inferior Patrio Sermone Viatus,*

*Eloquii secum qui decus omne tulit.*

*Let Florence fair ber Danites justly boast,*

*And royal Rome ber Petrarch's numbered feet,*

*In English Wiat both of them doth coast,*

*In whom all grateful eloquence doth meet.*

This knight being sent ambassador by King  
Henry

\* A knight whose learning was conspicuous.



Henry the eighth, to Charles the fifth Emperour, Hen. 8. then residing in Spain, before he took shipping, died of the pestilence in the west-country, Anno 1541.

Queen Anne's favour towards him, raised this man : and his faithfulness to her ruined him : So fickle is that man's station that depends only on humour, or holds off love and hatred ! *Let my friend (saith Malvezzi) bring me in, but let my merit and service keep me there.*

Four things a man went to dine with Sir Thomas Wiat for : 1. For his generous entertainment. 2. For his free and knowing discourse of Spain and Germany ; An insight in whose interest was his master-piece, studied by him as well for the exigence of that present juncture, as for his own satisfaction. 3. For his quickness in observing, his civility in entertaining, his dexterity in employing, and his readiness in encouraging every mans peculiar parts and inclinations. 4. For the notice and favour the king had for him. So ready was he to befriend worthy men, and so ready was the king to entertain his friend ; that when a man was newly preferred, they said, *He had been in Sir Thomas Wiat's closet.* Happy is the prince that had a faithful favourite, to look him out serviceable men ! and happy those useful persons, that have a familiar and honest favourite, by whom they may have access to the prince. A favourite that serves not his country so much by employing and pleasing its active members, as he secures his king, who hath no less need of counsel in reference to *men*, then *things*.

His wit pleased the king, and his wisdom served him : He could not be without his advice

Hen. 8. at the council-table, nor without his jests in his  
 { presence-chamber : where yet he observed his  
*decorum* so exactly, that his majesty could by no  
 means win him one night to dancing ; this being  
 his grave resolution, *That he who thought himself*  
*a wise man in the day-time, would not be a fool at*  
*night* : otherwise none carry'd himself more hand-  
 somely, none conversed more ingeniously and  
 freely, none discoursed more facetiously or solidly.  
 In a word, it was his peculiar happiness, that his  
 deportment was neither too severe for King  
 Henry the eighth's time, nor too loose for Henry  
 the seventh's ; neither all honey nor all gall,  
 but a sweet mixture and temperament of affability  
 and gravity, carrying an equal measure of Sir  
 Thomas More's ingenuity in his head, and Sir  
 Thomas Cromwel's wisdom in his heart ; equally  
 fashioned for discourse and business : in the last  
 whereof he was active, but not troublesome ; in  
 the first, merry, but innocent.

A jest if it hit right, may do more good than  
 sober counsels. Archee made king James sensible  
 of the danger the prince was in, in Spain, by  
 telling him that he came to change caps with him.  
*Why ?* said the king. *Because thou hast sent the*  
*prince into Spain, from whence he is never like to*  
*return.* But (said the king) *what wilt thou say*  
*when thou seest him come back again ?* Marry (saith  
 he) *I will take off the fool's cap which I now put*  
*upon thy head for sending him thither, and put it*  
*on the king of Spain's for letting him return.*

A jest of Sir Thomas Wiat's began that re-  
 formation, which the seriousness of all Christen-  
 dome could not commence. King Henry was  
 at a loss concerning the divorce, which he no less  
 pas-

passionately desired, than the Pope warily de-Hen. 8. layed: *Lord, saith he, that a man cannot repent him of his sin without the Pope's leave?* Sir Thomas hinted, Doctor Cranmer opened, and the universities of Europe made the way to reformation.

His majesty was at another time displeased with Wolsey, and Sir Thomas ups with a story of the *curs baiting the butcher's dog*, which contained the whole method of that great man's ruine.

The pope was incensed, christian princes were enraged, and the numerous clergy discontented, and king Henry afraid of a revolution: *Butter the rooks nests*, (that is, sell and bestow the papal clergies habitation and land among the nobility and gentry) said Sir Thomas, *and they will never trouble you*. One day he told his master he had found out a living of an hundred pounds in the year more than enough, and prayed him to bestow it on him: *Why?* said the king, *we have no such in England*. *Yes, Sir*, said Sir Thomas, *the provostship of Eaton, where a man hath his diet, his lodging, his horse-meat, his servant's wages, his riding-charge, and an 100l. per annum besides*. What Lewis the eleventh said of one kingdome, *i. e.* France, may be true of all. That they want one thing, *i. e.* Truth. Few kings have such discreet courtiers as Cardinal Wolsey, to look into things deeply; fewer so faithful servants as Sir Thomas Wiat, to report things as they see them, honestly.

His jests were always confined to these rules:

1. He never played upon a man's unhappiness or deformity; it being inhumane.

2. Not

Hen. 8. 2. Not on superiors; for that is sawcy and  
 ~~~~~ unditiful.

3. Nor on serious or holy matters: for that's
 irreligious; applying to this occasion that of the
 Athenians, who would not suffer Pothus to play
 his comedies, where Euripides repeated his tra-
 gedies

4. He had much salt, but no gall; often jesting
 but never jeering.

5. He observed times, persons and circum-
 stances; knowing when to speak, and knowing
 when to hold his peace.

6. His apt and handsome reparties were rather
 natural than affected; subtle and acute, prompt
 and easie, yet not careless; never rendering himself
 contemptible to please others.

7. Not an insipid changing of words was his
 gift, but a smart retort of matters, which every
 body was better pleased with than himself.

8. He always told a story well; and was as
 good at a neat continued discourse, as at a quick
 sentence; contriving it in an handsome method,
 cloathing it with suitable expressions, without any
 parenthesis or impertinencies, and representing
 persons and actions so to the life, that you would
 think you saw what you but hear: A notable way
 that argued the man of a ready apprehension, an
 ingenious fine fancy, a tenacious memory, a grace-
 ful elocution, an exact judgment and discretion,
 and perfect acquaintance with things and circum-
 stances. His phrase was clean and clear, the
 picture of his thoughts and language, (even in an
 argument) not harsh or severe, but gentle and
 obliging, never contradicting but with an *Under*
favour Sir; always subjoyning to his adversaries dis-

discourse, what the Dutch do at all ambassadors Hen. 8.
propofals, *It may be so.*

Observations on the Life of Sir John Fineux.

S I R John Fineux was born at Swinkfield in ^{Lloyd.} the County of Kent, a place bestowed on his ancestors by a great lord in Kent, called T. Criol, about the reign of king Edward the second. He followed the law twenty eight years before he was made a judge; in which office he continued twenty eight years, and was twenty eight years of age before he betook himself to his study: whence it necessarily follows, that he was fourscore and four when he died. He was a great benefactor to St. Augustine's in Canterbury; the prior whereof William Mallaham thus highly commended him: (good deeds deserve good works)

* *Vir prudentissimus, Genere insignis, Justitia præclarus,, pietate refertus, Humanitate splendidus, & charitate fecundus.*

- He died in 1526, and lies buried in Christ-Church in Canterbury, having had a fair habitation in this city, and another in Herne in this coun-

* A man of consummate wisdom, of an illustrious family, famous for his justice, renowned for his piety, conspicuous in his humanity, and extensive in his charity.

Hen. 8. county, where his motto still remaineth in each
 { window :

* *Misericordias Domini cantabo in Æternum.*

Nile's original is hidden, but his stream is famous. . This judge's ancestors were not so obscure, as he was illustrious. His device upon his serjeants ring was, *Suæ quisq; fortunæ faber* ; and his discourse was always to this purpose, *That no man thrived but he that lived as if he were the first man in the world, and his father were not born before him.*

Forty years he said he lived by his industry ; twenty by his reputation, and ten by favour. King Henry the seventh knew not how well this gentleman could serve him, until he saw how effectually he did oppose him about the tenth penny raised for the war in Britain, which raised another in York ; where though the rabble (that murdered Henry earl of Northumberland, who was to levy the tax) had not his countenance for their practice, yet had they his principal for their rule, which was this, *Before we pay any thing, let us see whether we have any thing we can call our own to pay.* So able, though reserved a patriot, thought the wise king, would be an useful courtier, and he that could do so well at the bar, might do more at the bench. Cardinal Morton was against his advancement, as an encouragement to the factious : (whose hydra-heads grow the faster by being taken off by preferment, and not by an ax) the king was for it, as the most probable way of weakening them, as who, when
 the

* I will sing the mercies of the Lord for ever.

the most sober and wise part of them draweth off, Hen. 8, are but a rude multitude, and a rope of sand. ~~~~~

When a commoner, none so stiff for the subjects priviledg; when a judge, none so firm to the princes prerogative: two things, (however, they fatally clashed of late) that are solid felicities together, and but empty notions asunder: for what is prerogative but a great name, when not exercised over a free people? and what is priviledg but a fond imagination, when not secured under a powerful king, that may keep us from being slaves one to another by anarchy, while we strive to be free from his tyranny? that people is beyond president free, and beyond comparison happy, who restrain not their sovereign's power to do them *harm* so far, as that he hath none left him to do them *good*. Careful he was of the law; for he was a judge: and as careful of his sovereign's right; for he was a subject. No ominous clashing between courts in his time; nor setting the king's *Conscience* in *Chancery* against his will in the *King's Bench*. A man tells Aristides to make him party in his cause, that his adversary had abused him: *I sit not here* (saith that impartial judge) *to right my self, but you*. When a notorious enemy of judge Fineux had a cause depending before him, *It might have gone you, my Friend*, (saide he) *had you not been my Enemy*: his motto was; * *nemo prudens punit quia peccatum est sed ne peccetur*.

Ten things, which are indeed ten of the most remarkable particulars of his life, raised him.

1. An indefatigable industry, 1. In his reading,

* No prudent man punishes another because he has offended, but that he may not offend for the future.

Hen. 8. ing, leaving behind him 23 *Folio's* of notes. 2.
 { In his practice, bequeathing 3502 cases he managed himself to his executor.

2. A freedom of converse: as about his business, none more close; so in company, none more open; having so compleat a command of himself, that he knew to a minute when to indulge, and to a minute too when to restrain himself. A gay and chearful humour, a spritful conversation, and cleanly manners, are an exceeding useful accomplishment for every one that intends not to wind himself into a solitary retirement, or be mewed in a cloyster.

3. A rich and a well-contrived marriage, that at once brought him a large estate, and a larger interest: the same tie that allied him to his wife's family, engaged him to *many*.

4. A great acquaintance with noble families, with whose dependants he got in first, devoting an hour a day for their company; and at last with themselves, laying aside his vacation-leisure for their service. He was steward of 129 manors at once, and of counsel to 16 noble-men.

5. His hospitality and entertainments: none more close than he abroad, none more noble at home; where many were tied to his table, more obliged by his company and discourse.

6. His care and integrity in managing, his repute in promoting, his reason and eloquence in pleading, and his success in carrying his causes.

7. His eminence and activity in the two profitable parliaments of Henry the seventh, where he had the hearts and purses of the people at his command, and the eye of his sovereign upon his person. It was thought a reward adequate to
 the

the greatest merit and adventure in the grecian wars, to have leave to play the prizes at *Olympus* before kings. It was judged the most ambition could aime at in king Henry the seventh's time, to shew a man's parts before his judicious and discerning majesty ; than whom none understood worth better, none valued it higher.

8. His opposition to Epsom and Dudley's too severe prosecution of poenal laws, while Henry the seventh was living ; and his laying of it before him so faithfully, that he repented of it when he was a dying. *He is bigb a while, that serves a Prince's private interest ; he is always so, that is careful of the publick good.*

9. His entire devotion to that sacred thing called *Friendship*, that *Bliss on this side Heaven*, made up of peace and love. None a worse enemy, none a better friend. Choice he was in commencing, but constant in continuing friends : *Many acquaintance, but few Friends*, was his observation ; saying, *He had been undone by his Acquaintance, had he not been raised by his Friends.*

10. His care of time. *To day I have not reigned*, said the emperour when he had done no good : *To day I have not lived*, said the judge when he had done nothing. So much he prayed morning, evening, and at noon, according to the way of those times, as if he never studied ; so much he studied, as if he never practised ; so great his practice, as if he never conversed ; and so free his converse with others, as if he lived not at all to himself. Time (of which others are so prodigally expensive) was the only thing he could be honestly covetous of : full where-

Hen. 8. whereof he died, leaving this instruction to posterity, *That we should not complain we have little time; but that we spend much either in doing nothing, or doing evil, or in doing nothing to the purpose.*

*Observations on the Life of Dr.
Edward Fox, Secretary and Almoner to King Henry the Eighth.*

Lloyd.

EDward Fox born in Dursly in Gloucestershire, brought up a scholar in Eaton, after fellow of king's colledg in Cambridge, where he died provost. He was almoner to king Henry the eighth, the first that brought doctor Cranmer to the knowledg of the king, as he brought the king to the knowledge of himself. Being afterwards bishop of Hereford, he was a great instigator of the politick and prudential part of the reformation, and was not less able, but more active than Cranmer himself: yea, so famous was he, that Martin Bucer dedicated unto him his comment upon the gospel: so painful, that he wrote many books, whereof that, * *de Differentia utriusq; potestatis*, was the chief: so worthy he was, that the king employed him on several embassies into France and Germany. He died May 8, 1538.

In

* Of the difference between both powers.


In his first years, none more wild; in his last Hen. 8. none more stayed. *The untoward Youth makes the able Man.* He that hath mettle to be extravagant when he *cannot* govern himself, hath a spirit to be eminent when he *can*. His friends devotion to the church, and relation to the bishop of Winchester, made him a scholar; his own inclination, a politician: an inclination that brake through all the ignoble restraints of pedantique studies and coercions, (wherewith many a great soul in England (enjoying not the freedome of forein parts, but tied to such employments, though never so unfuitable, as their friends put them to) are debased and lost) to an eminency (more by observation and travel, than by reading and study) that made him the wonder of the university, and the darling of the court. When he was called to the pulpit, or chair, he came off not ill; so prudential were his parts of divinity; when advanced to any office of trust in the university, he came off very well; so incomparable were his parts for government!

His policy was observed equally in the subject, and in the contrivance of his sermons and discourse; where though all knew he read but little, yet all saw that (by a scheme and method his strong head had drawn up of all books and discourses) he commanded all learning: his *Explications* of the text were so genuine, so exact, as if he had spent his time in nothing else but criticks and commentators. His divisions so analytical, as if he had seen nothing but logick: his enlargements so copious and genuine, as if he had seen nothing but fathers and schoolmen. The curious and pertinent mixture of moral sentences,

Hen. 8. tences, so various, as if he had been but a humanist: the drift and design of all, so close, that it argued him but (what indeed he was) a pure pate-politician. His parts commended him to cardinal Wolsey as his support: the cardinal brings him to his master as his second, and he thrusts out Wolsey as his rival; but yet pretended to advance that ambitious man more highly, that he might fall more irrecoverably. He sets him upon his designs of being *Pope* in Rome, and those make him none in England. He caught the cardinal by his submission, as he would have done sir Thomas More by his interrogations; at which he was so good, that he would run up any man either to a confession or a *Premunire*. Fox was his name, and cunning his nature. He said, *His Father's money helped him to his Parsonage*, meaning his small preferments; and *his Mother's wit to his Bishoprick*, meaning his greater.

Discourfing one day when ambassador, of terms of peace, he said, *Honourable ones last long, but the dishonourable no longer than till kings have power to break them: the surest way therefore, said he, to Peace, is a constant preparedness for War*. Two things he would say must support a government; gold and iron: gold, to reward its friends; and iron, to keep under its enemies. Themistocles after a battle fought with the Persians, espying a prize lying on the ground, *Take up these things*, (saith he to his companion) *for thou art not Themistocles. Take the Emperor's Money*, said Fox to his followers, (that were afraid to accept what he had refused) *for you are not all the King of England's Ambassadors*.

Often

Often was this saying in our bishop's mouth, Hen. 8. before ever it was in Philip the second's, *Time*  *and I will challenge any two in the world.*

Portugal being revolted, the Conde d'Olivares came smiling to king Philip the fourth, saying, *Sir, I pray give me las Albricius to banish the good news: for now you are more absolute King of Portugal than ever: for the people have forfeited all their priviledges by the Rebellion, and the Nobility their Estates, and now you may confirm your old Friends with their money, and make you new ones with their Estates.* When the clergy began to ruffle with the king, *I tell you News,* said this Bishop, *we are all run into a Præmunire: you shall have Money enough to make your own Courtiers, and places enough to advance your own Clergy.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Anthony St. Lieger.

WE may say of him, he was born in Kent, Lloyd. and bred in Christendome: for when twelve years of age, he was sent for his Grammar-learning with his tutor into France, for his carriage into Italy, for his philosophy to Cambridge, for his law to Grays-Inne; and for that which compleated all, the government of himself, to court; where his debonnairness and freedom took with the king, as his solidity and wisdom with the cardinal. His master-piece was his agency between king Henry the eighth and queen Anne, during the agitation of that

H 2

great

Hen. 8. great business the divorce between the said king and his queen Katherine. His policy was seen in catching the cardinal in that fatal word, *The King may ruine me if he please!* but that ruined him. His service was to be Cromwel's instrument in demolishing abbeys, as he was the king's. Cæsar was the first that came to undo the common-wealth, sober; sir Anthony St. Lieger was the first that saved this kingdome drunk: for in being abroad one night very late, and much distempered, he must needs fancy an extraordinary light in the cardinal's closet; with which fancy he ran to the king, and although much in drink, prevailed with him so far, that he sends to the cardinal, and there finds that juncto that threatened his kingdome.

He esteemed it the bane of a good judgment, to look upon things through the outside of some customary formality; neglecting the steady consideration of their inward nature; the first depending on the fancies of men, which are volatile; the other on the being of things, which is fixed: and he was rather for dressing his addresses in the smart way of a *jest*; than in the dull way of a *narrative*. * *Ridiculum acri Fortius et melius magnas plerumq; secant res.* The undigested fancies which please the common people for a while, during the distemper and green-sickness, fit a troubled age, as maids infected with that malady prefer ashes, or coles in a corner, before healthful food in their father's house; but when time hath cured their malady, and experience

* For ridicule shall frequently prevail,

And cut the knot when graver reason fail.

Francis's Horace, Stat. 10. V. 14.

rience opened their eyes, he would say that they *Hen. 8.* should abhor their former errors; and the mis-
leaders that taught them.

He was the first *Vice-Roy*, because Henry the eighth was the first king of *Ireland*. King Henry's affection would promote him any where, but his own resolution and spirit commended him to *Ireland*.

He was a man whom all *Ireland* could not rule ; therefore (as the jest goes) he should rule all England. Three times had the Irish rebels made their solemn submission to other deputies : the fourth time now they make it to him, throwing down their girdles, skeys, and caps. So great a man was the lieutenant, so great his master ! no sooner was he possessed of the government, but he thought of laws, those ligaments of it : the most rational and equitable laws were those of England, but too rational to be imposed on the brutish Irish : therefore our knight considering (as he saith in the preface of his constitution) that they (poor souls) *could not relish those exact Laws, to live or be ruled by them,* immediately enacted such as agreed with their capacity, rather than such were dictated by his ability ; his wisdom (as all mens must) doing what was most fit and convenient, rather than what was most exact ; what they could bear, more than what he could do . as remembering he had to do with *Fæces Romuli*, rather than *Respublica Platonis* ; a rude, rather than a reduced people. What he could, he ordained according to the incomparable rule of the English laws ; what he could not, he established according to his present judgment of the Irish capacity. He

Hen. 8. saw the kingdom could never be subject to his master's power, while the church was obedient to the pope's : therefore as he perswaded the nobility to surrender their estates to his majesty at London, so he compelled the clergy to make over theirs at Dublin : there remains but little of the first in his majesties hands, so honourable was he in restoring it ; and as little in his successors ; so religious and just were they in resigning it to the same use for substance, to which it was at first designed. But in vain it is to reform laws, unless we reform persons too : therefore as he sent *Orders* to reduce the Irish nobility in their several countries, so he sent for themselves (to the respective houses built for them by his majesty near Dublin) to be civilized in the court. *Cæsar came, saw, and overcame ; sir Anthony came, saw, and settled :* A man had thought there had not been so much corruption in the romish church, as to admit children to church-livings, (for which men are hardly sufficient !) but that sir Anthony St. Leiger was forced to make this law, *That no Children should be admitted to Benefices.* We had not known this sin, had not the law said, *You shall not invest any under sixteen years of age in Benefices.* The clergy he found there too many, and the nobility too few : he lessened the number of the one to weaken the pope, and improved the other to strengthen his master, of whom they held not only their estates, but their baronies too, as obliged to duty in point of honour as well as in point of interest. But in vain doth he civilize the present generation, and neglect the future : as therefore he provided cities for the parents, so he

he erected schools for the children, that the one *Hen. 8.* might forget their barbarism, and the other never know it. Three things he said would settle a state: 1. Good god-fathers and god-mothers performing their vows: 2. Good householders overlooking their families: 3. And good school-masters educating youth; this last, the most useful, though the most contemptible profession.

All war was mischievous to learning (arts as well as laws, being suppressed by arms, the *Muses Laurel* is no security to them against *Mars* his *Thunder*) except Sir Anthonies, no man's library being embezled; no man's study interrupted; reserving learning for the civilizing of that nation which his armes had conquered.

An *Athenian* being asked what God was; said, He was neither Bow-man, nor Horse-man, nor Pike-man, nor Foot-man, but one that knew how to command [all these.] Sir Anthony St. Leiger was neither souldier nor scholar, nor statesman, yet he understood the way how to dispose of all these to his countries service, and his master's honour; being all of them eminently, though none of them pedantickly and formally in himself,

The *Athenians* (as *Anaximander* said) had good laws, but used them ill; our deputy had bad laws, but governed by good.

It was thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour and unreasonable severity which some men carried there before him, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into horrid flames the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fuel in that place; where despair was added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted ex-

Hen. 8. oppressions : it is too easie to provoke a people too prone to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their religion, and their natural desires of liberty ; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and prevent after-rigours : wherefore he was inclined to that charitable connivence and *Christian Indulgence*, which often dissipates their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifieth, and puts the oppressed parties into such combinations as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors ; who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer for religion or liberty.

To conclude this : four things Sir Anthony St. Leiger was eminent for :

1. That there was none more grave in council than he, in the morning : none more free at table, at noon : none more active in the afternoon : none more merry at night.

2. That his orders were made but slowly, so wary he was ; but executed quickly, so resolute he was too.

3. That he contrived all his designs so well beforehand, that in the course of affairs they were done to his hand ; and he was the deputy that made no noise.

4. That as the souldier (finding his first admission to Alexander to be difficult) danced about the court in an antique fashion, until the strangeness of the shew made the king himself spectator, and then throwing off his disguise, he said, *Sir, thus I first arrive at the notice of your Majesty in the fashion of a fool, but can do you ser-*

service in the place of a wise man, if you please to Hen. 8.
employ me : so this gentleman came to court a swaggerer, but went off a statesman. All prudence is not lodged under a demure look and an austere carriage : there are those that can be merry and wise ; whose spirit is as *lively*, as their judgment *solid* : and its no better a character of a wise man, than it was a definition of a man which Plato made, and Diogenes, by shewing a deplumed cock, derided, that he is a *living Creature that bath two feet, i. e. a grave, staid carriage ; without feathers, i. e. a nimble fancy*. His onely fault was, that he was a particular instance of that general rule, * *Qui pauca considerat facile pronunciat*.

Observations on the Life of Sir Ralph Sadler.

S I R Ralph Sadler was born at Hackney in Lloyd Middlesex, where he was heir to a fair inheritance, and servant to the Lord Cromwel, and by him advanced into the service of king Henry the VIII, who made him chief secretary of state. He was one that had much knowledg, therefore much employed in all, but especially in the intrigues of the Scots affairs : in the battle of Muscledorow he ordered and brought up our
scat-

* Who considers little, seldom hesitates in giving his opinion.

Hen. 8. scattered troops, inviting them to fight by his own example; and for his valour was made knight banneret. Queen Elizabeth made him chancellor of the dutchy. During his last embassie in Scotland, his house at Standon in Hertfordshire was built by his steward in his absence, far greater than himself desired, so that he never joyed therein; and died soon after, *Anno* 1587, in the 80 year of his age.

King Henry understood two things: 1. A man: 2. A dish of meat; and was seldom deceived in either: for a man, none more compleat than sir Ralph, who was at once a most exquisite writer, and a most valiant and experienced soldier; qualifications that seldom meet, (so great is the distance between the sword and the pen, the coat of mail and the gown) yet divided this man and his time; his nights being devoted to contemplation, and his days to action. Little was his body, but great his soul; the more vigorous, the more contracted. Quick and clear were his thoughts, speedy and resolute his performances. It was he that could not endure the spending of that time in designing one action, which might perform two; or that delay in performing two, that might have designed twenty. A great estate he got honestly, and spent nobly; knowing *that Princes honour them most that have most; and the People them onely that employ most*: a prince hath more reason to fear money that is spent, than that which is hoorded; because it is easier for subjects to oppose a prince by applause than

* There were two sorts of these knights, the first made by way of encouragement, the second by way of reward: Sir Ralph was of the second sort, and the last that survived of that sort.

man by armies. *Reward* (said sir Ralph when Hen. 8. he was offered a sum of money) *should not empty the King's Coffers ; neither should Riches be the Pay of Worth, which are meerly the Wages of Labour* : he that gives it, embaseth a man ; he that takes it, vilifieth himself : who is so most rewarded, is least. Since honour hath lost the *Value* of a reward, men have lost the *Merit* of virtue, and both become mercenary ; men lusting rather after the wealth that *buyeth*, than after the qualities that *deserve* it.

Two things he observed broke treaties ; *Jealousie*, when princes are successful ; and *Fear* when they are unfortunate. Power that hath need of none, makes all confederacies, either when it is *felt*, or when it is *feared*, or when it is *envied*.

Three things Cato repented of : 1. *That he went by water when he might go by land.* 2. *That he trusted a Woman with a secret.* 3. *That he lost Time.* Two things sir Ralph relented for : 1. *That he had communicated a secret to two.* 2. *That he had lost any hour of the morning, between four a clock and ten.*

He learned in king Henry the eighth's time, as Cromwel's instrument, what he must advise, (in point of religion) in queen Elizabeth's time, as an eminent counsellour : his maxime being this, *That Zeal was the Duty of a private Breast, and Moderation the Interest of a publick State.* The protestants sir Ralph's conscience would have in the commencement of queen Elizabeth, kept in hope ; the papists his prudence would not have cast into despair. It was a maxime at that time in another case, *That France should not presume, nor Spain be desperate.* He

Hen. 8. He saw the interest of this state altered six times, and died an honest man: the crown put upon four heads, yet he continued a faithful subject: religion changed, as to the publick constitution of it, five times, yet he kept the faith.

A Spartan one day boasted that his countrymen had been often buried in Athens; the Athenian replied, *But we are most of us buried at home.* So great was sir Ralph's success in the northern wars, than many a Scotch man found his grave in England; so exact his conduct and wariness, that few English men had theirs in Scotland; the same ground giving them their coffin, that did their cradle; and their birth that did their death. Our knight's two incomparable qualities were discipline and intelligence; the last discovered him all the enemies advantages, and the first gave them none.

His two main designs were, 1. An *Interest* in his prince, by *service*. 2. An alliance with the nobility by marriage: upon which two bottoms he raised himself to that pitch of honour and estate, that time could not *wear out*, nor any alterations *embezzle*; he bequeathing to his worshipful posterity the blessing of heaven upon his integrity; the love of mankind for his worth; and (as Mr. Fuller saith) a pardon granted him when he attended my lord Cromwel at Rome, for the sins of his family for three immediate generations, (expiring in R. Sadler esquire, lately dead.) His last negotiation was that in Scotland, during the troubles there about queen Mary: so searching and piercing he was, that no letter or advice passed, whereof he had not a

copy; so civil and obliging, that there was no Hen. 8. party that had not a kindness for him; so grave and solid, that he was present at all counsels; so close and industrious, that his hand though unseen was in every motion of that state: and so successful, that he left the nobility so divided that they could not design any thing upon the king; and the king so weak, that he could not cast off the queen; and all so tottering, that they must depend on queen Elizabeth.

Three things he bequeathed such as may have the honour to succeed him. 1. All letters that concerned him since of years, *filed*: 2. All occurrences, since he was capable of observation, *registred*. 3. All expences, since he lived of himself, *booked*. Epaminondas was the first Græcian, and Sir Ralph Sadler was one of the last English-men.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Paget.

SIR William Paget was born in the city of *Lloyd*. London, of honest parents. He was so able and trusty a minister of state, that he was privy counsellour to four successive princes: he was secretary to king Henry the eighth; who employed him embassador to Charles the emperour and Francis king of France. King Edward the sixth made him chancellor of the dutchy, comptroller of his household, and created him baron of Beaufort.


Hen. 8. Beaudefert. Queen Mary made him keeper of the privy-seal, Queen Elizabeth highly respected him, dispensing with his attendance at court, in favour to his great age. Duke Dudley in the days of king Edward, ignominiously took from him the garter of the order, saying, *He was not Originally qualified for the same*: but this was restored unto him by Queen Mary. He died very old, *Anno* 1563. and was buried in Lichfield. His education was better than his birth, his knowledg higher than his education: his parts above his knowledg, and his experience beyond his parts: a general learning furnished him for travel, and travel seasoned that learning for employment. His master-piece was an inward observation of other men, and an exact knowledge of himself. His address was with state, yet insinuating: his discourse free, but weighed; his apprehension quick, but staid: his ready and present mind keeping its pauses of thoughts and expressions even with the *occasion* and the *emergency*: neither was his carriage more stiff and uncompliant than his soul. Gundamore could not fit king James so well as sir William did Charles the fifth, who in a rapture once cried, *He deserved to B E a King, as well as to REPRESENT One*: and one day as he came to court, *Yonder is the Man I can deny nothing to.*

Apollonius coming to Vespasian's gate betimes in the morning, and finding him up, said, *Surely this Man will be Emperour, he is up so early..* This statesman must needs be eminent, who was up the earliest of all the English agents in discovering affairs, and latest in following those discoveries. Three sorts of ambassadors the

the emperor Charles observed were sent him Hen. 8. from England; the first was Wolsey, whose great train promised much, as his great design did nothing: the second was Morison, who promised and did much: the third Paget, who promised nothing, and did all. What scholars observed then of * three divines, that a statesman hath set down of our three agents: the first was words without matter; the second was matter without words; the third was words and matter. Quick and regular were his dispatches, when *Secretary*, pleasing all with his proceedings, even when he could not but displease many with his decision. It was much none went away ever sad from Augustus an emperor, it was more none was dismissed ever in discontent from sir William Paget, a secretary of state. The king was not happier in his abilities to serve him, than he was in their dexterity who waited upon him: *These are my eyes*, (saith the discreet man) *these are my right hands*. For his service he would chuse a man before a scholar, a *Traveller* before a *Home-bred*: *Parts* he preferred in his office, a *Presence* in his chamber; *Parts* and *Presence* in the closet.

Beecher was king Henry the eighth his map of England, (so well skilled he was in our English customs, trade, improvements, situation, interest and inclination) Paget was his Table of Germany, France, and Rome, so exact an account could he give of their situation, havens, forts, passages, provision, policies, revenue and strength: secured he was in king Henry's changeable times, by his foreign travels and employments. Escape he did king Edward's reformation

* Carolostadius. Melancthon, Luther,

Hen. 8. mation by his moderation and peaceableness:  He complied with queen Mary's zeal, out of conscience; and submitted to queen Elizabeth's authority out of duty and allegiance: being one of those moderate men that looked upon the protestants primitive foundations of * faith, duty, and devotion as safe: and on the papist's superstructures, as not damnable: Whose life was Grotius and Cassander's wish, an accommodation to the christian World. Privacy is the favourite's interest, and concealment his care: sir William wished for success for his master's sake, but dissembled it for his own: He is the *man*, that loseth neither his privacy, nor his reputation. Quiet was his temper, though noble his resolution: Troublesome is a witty man on a stage, as a monkey in a cupboard of glass. Placid, sweet, and composed is the prudent man, like an intelligence in the heavens, or a god in the world. Up he went, but by just degrees: that if down he must, he might do so with the same leisure and safety.

When he had managed the secrets and negotiations of Henry the eighth, with dexterity and faithfulness; the lands of king Edward the sixth, with skill and improvement; the purses of queen Mary and queen Elizabeth, with good husbandry and care: when he had lived enough to his *Countries*, to his *Sovereigns*, to his *Friends*, and the *Publique Good*; he retired to live to *Himself* first, and then to his *G O D*.

Ob-

* The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Commandments.

Observations on the Life of Sir
Richard Morifin.

SIR Richard Morifin born in Effex (or in Oxfordshire*) was brought up † at Eaton, Cambridge, and Inns of Court. He was so skilful in latine and greek, and in the common and civil law, that he was often employed embassador by king Henry the VIII, and Edward the VI, unto Charles the fifth emperour, and other princes of Germany; which he discharged with all honesty and ability. After the death of king Edward the VI, he was forced to fly beyond the seas; and returning out of Italy, died at Strasburgh, on the 17. of March, 1556.

Three things made a compleat man in those days: 1. A public school, where their school-fellows genius's instruct much more than their school-masters pains; where a man attains at once to *Learning*, *Prudence*, and a *Spirit*: 2. A comprehensive insight into tongues and sciences; by the first whereof they unlocked *Men*, and by the second *Things*: 3. Travel, where they saw what they read, and made that a solid apprehension and observation, which was before but a fluid notion and a floating imagination: our knight was happy in all three, but so compleat in the last, that he had the virtues and port of
I a German,

* Saith fir Richard Baker.

† Per celebriora Anglorum Gymnasia artes excoluit.

Hen. 8. a German, as if he had been a native of that place; and loathed the vices, as if he had never seen it: thereby he could get so far within that people, that he saw all their intrigues; and be yet so reserved, that they could see nothing. The ablest German divines guided his conscience, and the greatest statesmen his negotiation. He kept under the emperour by the princes, the French by the emperour, and the pope by them all. So much service did the good knight to king Henry the eighth, in his wife Katharine's case; and so much the whole kingdom, in that of religion; that he equally fled queen Mary's wrath, and her religious persecutions. His strong parts set off his comprehensive knowledge; his resolute spirit, his parts; and his presence and mode *all*: king Henry always chusing an ambassador that might represent his person as well as his power: and sir Richard had his *Hogb* in Germany, as well as Henry in England.

His knack was his *foresight*; which made that an advise in England, which was hardly a known design there: saying usually, *His master maintained not embassadours so much to write Histories as Prophecies.* The Trojans sent to condole with Cæsar for his son that was dead two years ago; he thanked them, and condoled with them for Hector that was slain as many hundred years. Our ambassador in France adviseth sir Richard of a battel fought a week before, and he in answer makes a large discourse of the battel of *Spurs* fought many years before; and adds, *I and you are not here to tell old stories.*

Two things, he said, he was troubled with, *Envy* and *Malice*; and two remedies he had against

against them, *Patience and Resolution.* Always Hen. 8. he wheeled with the first mover, yet he had private motions of his own : singular, but modest : so faithful he was, that he would declare his opinion ; yet so wary, that he would not stand in it against his prince ; knowing, that if he did it out of prudence, he rendered the prince's ability suspected ; if out of his own sagacity, it blemished his integrity ; both equal inconveniencies, to intimate the master unable, or the servant corrupt.

When others pressed for an over-strict reformation, this gentleman urged, *That Distempers in the Body and State are reduced by Physicians and Politicians not to what they should be, but to what they can be ;* freedom, moderation, and impartiality are the best tempers of reforming counsels and endeavours : what is acted singularly must offend more than it pleaseth ; a study to gratify some men, being a likely way to injure all : the novelty of excessive and immoderate undertakings giving not so much content to the vulgar of a present age, as the mischiefs of them give offense to the generations of future times.

And Melancthon's discourse to him was to this purpose : *That the Reformation of hearts should go before that of Churches ; and men should try that on their own hearts which they design upon the Church : For Deformities within, will soon betray the Pretenders of publique Reformation to such private designs as must needs kinder the publique Good.* It would be an easie matter for Favourites to reform King's Palaces (saith Malvezzi) if it were not a hard thing to reform their own houses.

Hen. 8. One asked him, *Why his Embassie tended so much more to preserve his Master's Dominions, than to augment them?* And he replied what is fathered on Henry the fourth, *That getting is a Chance, but keeping is a Wit.*

After a long residence abroad, he thought of an habitation at home; which he no sooner began at Cashobery in Hertfordshire, but king Edward going out of the world, the good knight was forced out of his house and the kingdom.

He was the first that said, *Policy is not the learning of some Rules, but the Observation of Circumstances, with a present minde in all junctures of affairs; which* (he would say) *was their happiness only, that had good memories:* for when one said he had seen much, heard more, and read most: *You were* (said he) *a more compleat man, could you say, I remembered as much.* Secretary Walsingham would say, *My Lord, stay a little, and we shall have done the sooner:* Secretary Cecil said, *It shall never be said of me, That I will defer till to morrow what I can do to day:* And sir Richard Morisin, *Give me this day, and take the next your self.* Noble was his resolution, when he said, *He scorned to take pensions from an Emperour of Germany, since an Emperour of Germany took pay of the King of England.*

His stature was something tall, and procured him reverence; his temper reserved, and commanding security to his person and his business. *He that knoweth to speak well, knoweth also where he must hold his peace,* said the old Græcian: *Think an hour before you speak, and a day before you promise,* said this English Roman. With
Ferdinand

Ferdinand the emperour he prevailed for the Hen. 8. pope's assistance, and with Maximilian for his master's against the French.

Never was his master Henry so high, as to set him above treating; nor his sovereign Edward so low, as to make him afraid of war; although he looked upon the way of treaties, as a retiring from fighting like beasts, to arguing like men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs. *I have (said a great prince) greater confidence in my Reason than in my Sword; and am so resolved to yield to the first, that I thought neither myself nor others should use the second, if once we rightly understood one another. It's humane to use Reason rather than Force, and Christian to seek peace and ensue it.*

Christian was his Temper, and religious his carriage; so charitable, that he relieved the confessors, as though he had been none himself; and so constant, that he continued his sufferings, as if there were no other. Much good did his countenance do the exiles in the courts of foreign princes; and more his authority at the troubles of Frankford, where his motive to love, was the hatred of the enemy,

Hen: 8.



Observations on the Life of Doctor Nicholas Wotton.

Lloyd.

NICHOLAS WOTTON, son to sir Robert, born at Bockton-malherb in the county of Kent, (a place so named, from some noxious and malignant herbs growing therein) was bred in Oxon, doctor of the civil laws; and was the first dean of the two metropolitan churches of Canterbury and York. He was privy-counsellour to four successive sovereigns, viz.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------|---|-------|---|------------|---|
| King | { | Henry the VIII. | { | Queen | { | Mary. | } |
| | | Edward the VI. | | | | Elizabeth. | |

He was employed thirteen several times in embassies to foreign princes.

Five times to Charles the fifth emperor.

Once to Philip his son, king of Spain.

Once to Francis the first, king of France.

Once to Mary queen of Hungary, governess of the Netherlands.

Twice to William Duke of Cleve.

Once to renew the peace between England, France and Scotland, anno 1540.

Again to the same purpose at Cambray, anno 1549.

Once sent commissioner with others to Edinburgh in Scotland, 1560.

He

He refused the archbishoprick of Canterbury, Hen. 8. proferred him in the first of queen Elizabeth. He died January 26. in 1566. being about seventy years of age, and was buried in Canterbury.

Justinian reduced the law of nations to one body, and doctor Wotton comprehended them in one soul: publick was his spirit, and *such* his thoughts: that profession that was designed for the settlement of the world's commerce, was now confined to a bishop's court, a churchwarden's oath, or a rich man's will; when this excellent person first enlarged it as far as the sea, in the cases of the admiralty; and as wide as the world, in the negotiations of embassie. Others were trusted with the interest of princes, he with that of nations. He that saw him, would think he could deny nothing, so modest scholar-like his looks! He that heard him would judge he would grant nothing, so undeniable his reason! so irrefragable his arguments! His speech was as ready as his resolution was present. His apprehension quick and clear: his method exact: his reading vast and indefatigable: his memory (strong as to things, though not to words) tenacious: his elocution copious and flowing. What sir Henry Wotton said of sir Philip Sidney, I may say of Nicholas Wotton, *That he was the very measure of congruity.* What that counsellour writ to the French king in a great sheet (when he required his advice) that our doctor advised our princes in several discourses, *viz. Modus*, a mean. Sir, (said king Henry to him, now not forty years old) *I have sent a Head by Cromwel, a Purse by Wolsey, a Sword by Brandon,*

Hen. 8. don, and I must now send the Law by you, to treat
 with my Enemies.

Augustus lamented for Varus his death, because he said, *Now I have none in my Countrey to tell me the truth*: with Wotton went off that faithfulness that *Peasants have, and Princes want*: none more resolute abroad, none more bold and down-right at home. His plain dealing saved king Henry some treasure, king Edward the north, queen Mary Calice for a while, and queen Elizabeth her faith and crown: a virtue that made him the overseer of most foreign ministers actions abroad, and one of the sixteen executors of king Henry's will and testament at home. Gardiner was sly and close, but Wotton prudent and wise. In the treaty at Calice there are two things remarkable of our doctor, 1. That he first insisted on the peace with France, before that of Scotland. 2. He would say, *Rather give away Calice, than reserve a Right in it fifteen years hence: for never was the interest of any Nation so constant, as to keep a promise half so many years.*

Indeed sir William Cecil's reach went no further for a layman, than doctor Wotton for a churchman: therefore they two were pitched upon for the management of the intrigues and affairs of Scotland.

Many envied this happy man, but none could be without him, who was the oracle of both laws at councils; who could sum up the merit of any cause, recollect the circumstances of any affair; and shew tables of trade, commerce, situations, counsels, revenue, interest, &c. the readiest and exactest of any in England.

But

But all these qualifications must die, and he Hen. 8. with them : leaving it as his advice,

First, *To Church-men: To understand well the Common and Canon-Law, as well as the Divine; by the first whereof, they might understand their right; as by the second, they informed themselves and others of their duty.*

Secondly, *To Statesmen: Travel and History.*

Thirdly, *To Embassadors: 1. A good Purse: 2. A noble and sober Train: 3. Constant correspondence and observation: 4. A happy medley of Debonairness and Complacency, Reservedness and Gravity: with the first he had taken Princes, and with the last Statesmen: the one discovers others, while the other conceals you. 5. Resolution: I made often (said he, as if I would fight, when they knew my calling allowed me onely to speak: 6. Civility: That man (said the Prince of Orange) is a great bargain, who is bought with a bare salutation.*

Fourthly, *To Privy-Counsellours: that excellent caution, Always to speak last, and be Masters of other strength before they displayed their own.*

This was that rare man that was made for all business, so dexterous! this was he that was made for all times, so complying! this was he who lived doctor of both laws, and died doctor of both gospels; the protestant, which had the statesman's part of this man; and the popish, which had the christian. Noah * had two faces because he was a son of the old world before the flood, and a father of the new one after: Wotton sure had four faiths, who was a favourite in king Henry's days, of the counsel in king Edward's, of

* Being called Bifrons.

Hen. 8. of the juncto in queen Mary's, and the * second statesman in queen Elizabeth's.

With these two things of this person, I shall conclude:

1. His refusal of the archbishoprick of Canterbury, which argued his extraordinary humility or wariness.

His admission of doctor Parker, as dean of Canterbury, to that see: which argueth the legality of his calling, there being no circumstance with any likelihood omitted, by so exquisite a civilian as doctor Wotton; or forgotten, by so great an antiquary as doctor Parker.

*Observations on the Life of Sir
Thomas Wriothesly, the first
Earl of Southampton.*

Lloyd.

THOMAS WRIOTHESLY knight of the garter, was born in Barbican, son to William Wriothesly (descended from an heir general of the antient family of the Dunsterviles) king of arms. He was bred in the university of Cambridge, as it appears by Mr. Ascam's letter unto him, writing in the behalf of the university, when he was lord chancellor.

* Qua-

• Cecil was the first.

* *Quamobrem Academia cum omni literarum ratione, ad te tantum conversa (cui uni quam universis obis se chariorem intelligit) partim tibi ut alumno suo, cum auctoritate imperat: partim, ut patrono summo, demisse & humiliter supplicat, &c.* Hen. 8.


His university-learning prepared him for the law, and his indefatigable study of the law promoted him to the court; where, for his honour, he was created baron of Tichbourn, Jan. 1. 1543. and for his profit, the next year, May 3. lord chancellor; a place he discharged with more applause than any before him, and with as much integrity as any since him: *Force* (he said) *awed, but justice governed the world.*

It is given to that family to be generous and resolute: this incomparable person was under a cloud in king Edward's time, for being a rigidly-conscientious papist; and his great grandchild suffered in king Charles his time, for being a sincerely honest protestant: yet so revered was the first of this family by his adversaries, that he was made earl of Southampton; and so honoured was the other by his enemies, that they courted him to their party. Integrity hath a majesty in its full, and a glory in its lowest estate; that is, always feared, though not always loved.

No nobleman understood the roman religion better than the first earl of Southampton; and none the protestant better than the last, the right honourable and truly excellent Thomas earl of Southampton, and treasurer of England.

His

* Wherefore the University with the highest regard to literature, having cast her eyes on you only, (to whom alone she thinks herself dearer than to all others) commands you partly with an authority as her pupil, partly submissively and humbly intreats you as her best Patron.


Hen. 8. His court, he said, gave law to the kingdom ;  his constant and exact rules, to the court ; and his conscience guided by the law of the kingdom, to his rules. Affable and acceptable he was, as More ; quick and ready, as Wolsey ; incorrupt as Egerton ; apprehensive and knowing, as Bacon. Twice were all cases depending in chancery dispatched ; in sir Thomas Wriothesly's time, 1538 : and in sir Thomas More's 1532. Truly did he judge *intra Cancellor*, deciding cases with that uprightness, that he wished a window to his actions, yea and his heart too. King Philip was not at leisure to hear a poor woman's cause ; *Then*, said she, *cease to be King*. My lord over-hearing a servant putting off a petitioner, because his master was not at leisure, takes him up roundly, and replies, *You had as good say I am not at leisure to be Lord Chancellour*. Two things he would not have his servants gain by, his livings and his decrees ; the first, he said, were God's, the second the king's, (whom every man, he said, sold, that sold justice :) *To honest men, your places*, said he, *are enough ; to Knaves too much*. Every week he had a schedule of his own accounts, and every month of his servants. Cato's greatest treasure was his account-book of Sicily ; and my lord of Southampton's was his table of the chancellour's place. A great estate was conferred upon him, which he took not in his own name, to avoid the odium of sacrilege ; as great an inheritance he bought, but in others names, to escape the malice of envy.

He loved a bishop, he said, to satisfy his conscience ; a lawyer, to guide his judgment ; a good family, to keep up his interest ; and an university, to preserve his name. Full

Full of years and worth, he died 1550. at Hen. 8. Lincoln-place, and was buried at St. Andrew's church in Holborn, where his posterity have a diocese for their parish, and a court for their habitation.

*Observations on the Life of Sir
John Fitz-James.*


JOHN FITZ-JAMES knight, was born at ^{Lloyd.} Redlinch in Somersetshire, of right antient and worthy parentage, bred in the study of our municipal laws; wherein he proved so great a proficient, that by king Henry the eighth he was advanced to be chief justice of the king's bench. There needs no more to be said of his merit, save that king Henry the eighth preferred him; who never used either dunce or drone in church or state, but men of ability and activity. He sat thirteen years in his place, demeaning himself so, that he lived and died in the king's favour. He sat one of the assistants when sir Thomas More was arraigned for refusing the oath of supremacy, and was shrewdly put to it, to save his own conscience, and not incur the king's displeasure: for chancellour Audley, supreme judge in that place, (being loath that the whole burthen of More's condemnation should lie on his shoulders alone) openly in the court asked the advice of the lord chief justice Fitz-James, whether the indictment were sufficient or no? to whom

Hen. 8. whom our judge warily returned, *My Lords all,*
 *by St. Gillian, (which was ever his oath) I must*
** needs confess, That if the Act of Parliament be*
not unkaroful, then the indictment is not in my con-
science sufficient.

He died in the thirtieth year of king Henry the eighth ; and although now there be none left at Redlinch of his name and family, they flourish still at Lewson in Dorsetshire, descended from Alured Fitz-James brother to this judge, and to Richard bishop of London.

The two main principles that guide humane Nature (saith judge Dodderidge) *are Conscience and Law : By the former we are obliged in reference to another world, by the later in relation to this.* Priests and judges are the dispensers of these principles : no prince more unhappy in his priests than king Henry (whose unhappiness it was, that all the juggle, prevarication, and imposture of his time was in the pulpit,) none more happy in his judges, (to whose reason his people were more willing to submit, than they were to hearken to his clergy's instruction) among whom none more renowned than sir John Fitz-James, who was so fearful of the very shadow and appearance of corruption, that it cost his chief clerk his place but for taking a tankard, after a signal cause of 1500l. a year, wherein he had been serviceable, though not as a bribe, but as a civility. Cæsar would have his wife without suspicion of lewdness, and Fitz-James his servants without the appearance of corruption. What was law alwayes, was then a resolution, *Neither*
to

* Mr. More in the printed life of his grandfather ~~for~~
 Thomas More. Page 334.

to deny, nor defer, nor sell justice. When our Hen. 8. judge came upon the bench, he knew no more  then *Melchisedech* or *Levi*, father or mother, neither friend nor interest: for when his cousin urged for a kindness, *Come to my House* (saith the judge) *I will deny you nothing; come to the King's Court and I must do you justice:* and when the attorney-general bespake his favour in a publick cause, *Trouble not your self* (saith he) *I'll do the King right:* the king is cast, the attorney expostulates; the judge satisfieth him *That he could not do his Majesty Right, if he had not done justice.*

His prudence so tempered his zeal for his sovereign, that he over-strained not the prerogative to bring in fears and jealousies of tyranny on the one hand; and his integrity so balanced his popularity, that he never depressed it to broach bold opinions and attempts of liberty, on the other: complying with none of those humours that an imaginary dread of oppression, or a dangerous presumption of freedom may transport to irregular excesses either for the one, or against the other.

As his majesty was secured by his loyalty, so his subjects were by his patience, a virtue he carried with him to the bench, to attend each circumstance of an evidence, each allegation of a plea, each plea in a cause; *bearing* what was *impertinent*, and *observing* what was *proper*. His usual saying, (as serjeant Mandevil reports it) being, *We must have two souls, as two sieves, one for the Bran, the other for the flour; the one for the Gross of a Discourse, the other for the Quintessence.*

The same day that there was no cause to be
tried

Hen. 8. tried in the Chancery in fir Thomas More's time, there were but three in the king's bench, in fir John Fitz-James his time; the reason whereof some *imagine* was cardinal Wolsey's extraordinary power that engrossed all causes to his legantine court;) others *know* it was the judges integrity, who was too honest to *allow*, as that age was too plain to *contrive*, delays and obstructions.

Lewis the eleventh of France would say, when he was advised to take revenge of those that had affronted him before he came to the crown, *That it became not the King of France to revenge the Injuries done to the Duke of Orleans.* A person that had notoriously wronged fir John when a templer, in the case of his chamber, was to be tried before him for his whole estate when a judge; the adversaries among other shifts made use of this old quarrel; whereupon fir John said, *It doth not become a Judge upon the Bench to revenge a wrong done in his Chamber.*

Two things upheld him in those boysterious times: 1. Silence, 2. Patience: both wary virtues that seldom endanger their owner, or displease their superiours. The people of those times would live and die with the pope and council; and this judge, with the king and the parliament: the grand article of his faith was, *I believe as the Church believes*: and the great rule of his practice was, *I will live as the Law directs.*

He was a tried man, whose faith and honour was above his life and fortune; whose generosity was above that first temptation of *Money*, as his spirit was above the second of *Danger*: no fear here of delivering up priviledges to day, for fear

fear of the king ; or prerogative to morrow, for Hen. 8. fear of the subject : no, an unbias'd temper between both, make up this honest man ; who came on to preferment with great expectations, and went off with great applause: being one of the three men of whom it is said, *That because they never pleased their Master in doing any thing unworthy, they never displeased him in doing any thing that is just.* When base compliance goeth off with the contempt of those it hath humoured, a noble resolution comes off with the reverence of those it hath discontented.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Molineux.

SIR William Molineux junior, descendent Lloyd. from sir William Molineux knight, of Seston in Lancashire, flourished under king Henry the eighth, being a man of great command in Lancashire ; bringing the considerable strength thereof to the seasonable succour of the duke of Norfolk, with whom he performed signal service in Flodden-Field. The image of whose mind he was as well as the portrait of his body. Peculiar was our knight for nobly forgiving his enemies if reconcilable ; and refusing ignobly to be revenged of them, though obstinate : for honestly would he betray the villanies of them, that dishonestly offered to betray them

Hen. 8. to him; as Fabricius delivered up to Pyrrhus, though a sworn enemy, the physician that would have poisoned him; Lewis the 11th, discovered to the duke of Burgundy, though his mortal foe, the conspiracy that would have ruined him; and queen Elizabeth of England, with king Philip of Spain, gave Henry the great of France, (when friends with neither of them) notice of two plots upon his person, that would have ruined him.

It is confessed on all sides that the Scots lost the day, by not keeping their ranks, but not agreed on the cause thereof. Buchanan (who commonly makes the too much courage of his country-men, the cause of their being conquered) imputes it to their indiscrete pursuing of the English routed at the first: others say, they did not break their ranks, but were broken, unable to endure the Lancashire archers, and so forced to funder themselves. In this battle the Scottish king and chieftest gentry were slain, the English losing scarce any; the Scots scarce any but of prime note. The king afterward wrote his gratulatory letter to sir William Molineux, in form following.

***T** Rusty and Well-Beloved, We greet you well:
And understand as well by the Report of Our
Right Trusty Cousin and Counsellour, the Duke of
Norfolk, as otherwise, what acceptable service you
amongst Others lately did Us by your valiant To-
wardness in the assisting of Our said Cousin against
Our Enemy, late King of Scots; and how coura-
geously you, as a very beanty loving Servant acquit-
ted your self for the overthrow of the said late
King, and distressing of his Malice and Power, to
Our*

Our great Honour, and the advancing of your no Hen. 8.
 little Fame and Praise; for which We have good
 cause to favour and thank you, and so We full
 heartily do; and assured may you be, that We
 shall in such effectual wise remember your said ser-
 vice in any your reasonable pursuits, as you shall
 have cause to think the same right well employed to
 Our comfort and weal hereafter. Given under Our
 Signet, at Our Castle at Windsor, the seven and
 twentieth of November.

It appears by our author, that the like letters, *mutatis mutandis*, were sent unto sir Edward Stanley, and some other men of principal note in Lancashire and Cheshire.

There is more in the education than the birth (though that be noble too) of this gentleman: much generous blood sparkled in his veins, more arts and sciences thronged in his soul: a learned prince brought up a learned gentry, the most hopeful of whom think themselves as much obliged to imitate his virtues, as the most degenerate were inclined to practise his vices. Four excellent artists were at once entertained in his father's house:

1. A compleat grammarian and linguist, Parker.

2. An exact mathematician and historian, Calvius.

3. A skilful musitian, Palleviceno.

4. An active dancing-master and souldier.

The latine tongue then wearing out its barbarism, he spake and writ elegantly: Cicero's works he kenned particularly: Plutarch's lives and morals (that book which, as Gaza said, would furnish the world, if learning were lost)

Hen. 8. he epitomized punctually : the active and practical part of geometry, he studied intently. And, as the complaisance of his nature and sweetness of his temper, he added to these severer studies, those more airy of musick, poetry, and heraldry.

* *Si ad naturam eximiam eruditio accesserit tum demum singulare quoddam existere solet.* This noble nature, advanced by this heroick education, must needs do wonders, as it did : first, in the university : where his company was choice, his carriage even and staid, his time exactly observed and prudently spent ; secondly, abroad : where his converse was wary, his conduct noble and plausible, his observations and exercises man-like and knowing : thirdly at court : where his presence was graceful, his discourse solid, digested, distinct, and clear ; much improved by reading, more by travelling, most by conference with those that speak well : fourthly, in the country : where his hospitallity was renowned, his equity and prudence beloved, and his interest large and commanding. None pleased the king at court more, such his learning to satisfy him, such his debonairness to delight him ; (for as cardinal Wolsey, so sir William Molineux got in with king Henry the eighth by a discourse out of *Aquinas* in the morning, and a dance at night.) none served him better in the country : such his obligations upon tenants and neighbours, that he had six thousand men at command : such his prudence and justice, that there were more differences ended in his parlour, than in Westminster-Hall : such his care and watchfulness,

* If a polite education has been added to a refined genius, then something extraordinary generally comes forth.

fulness, that no treason stirred, but his agents discovered, and the militia was at an hour's warning to suppress it: the idea of the English gentleman! in favour at court! in repute in the country! at once loved and feared!

Four things he took special care of: 1. That the poor might have their stated alms. 2. That the priests might enjoy their known dues. And 3. That his tenant might be so well used, that he might thrive; and but so well, that he should not be idle. 4. That every body should be employed: saying, *He had rather they should be busie, though doing nothing to the purpose, at the charge of his Purse; than that they should be idle, doing nothing at all, at the charge of their own pretious time.* In a word, he lived in all capacities a publick good, and died a common loss: leaving in his family that best legacy, a good example; and his country that lasting monument, a good name; for two things that he hated; 1. Depopulating inclosures: 2. Unworthy inhancements of rents: for he died with this advice to his son, *Let the Underwoods grow.* The tenants are the supports of a family, and the commonalty are the strength of the kingdom. *Improve thriftily, but force not violently either your Bounds or Rents above your fore-Fathers.* His popularity never failed of being called to the parliament, nor his activity of being useful there: none understood better how to move, to press, to quit, to divert, to escape, to watch and mould a business: none knew better the confederacy of contrivers, speakers, sticklers, dividers, moderators, and the *I* and *No*-men, their method and correspondence: none more patient and industrious, when a lower

Hen. 8. faction was firmer in conjunction, and a few that ~~were~~ were stiff, tired out many more moderate. He had no easiness to be imposed upon, no weakness to be deluded, no low interest to be corrupted by fond hopes or fair promises of preferment, to wave the very pinch of a dispute; no pleasure or vanity to be debauched, while the vigilant faction steals a vote worth a kingdom; no sloath nor neglect, to be surprized; no vanity of discourse, to lose his master, no partiality to be biassed, no discontent to satisfy, no passion to misguide: as one that *bated* nothing, but what was dishonest; *feared* nothing, but what was ignoble; and *loved* nothing, but was just and honourable: having a care of his virtue, as lying in his power, but not of fortune, as lying in the power of superiours, from whom he could only by deserving command a favour; he being of Plato's opinion, *that a man's mind is the Chariot; Reason the Coach-man: Affections the Horses; desire of Honour the Whips; both exciting to goe forward, and striving to be exact: Honour always keeping up curiously the honoured person in an height of action, that keeps an even pace with admiration; evenness and constancy being the Crown of Virtue.*

*Observations on the Life of Sir
William Fitz-James.*

HIS judgement in parliament brought Lloyd. him to the notice, and his activity and prowess in the wars recommended him to the service of king Henry. The bishops pleaded for the catholique religion, the people for a reformation; sir William offered his opinion for a mean between both; *That since it was unreasonable to tie up Mankind in blind obedience one toward another, and impossible to run through all Difficulties and Controversies our own selves, (so much Time and Money must be spent in such an Undertaking, so many Languages learned, so many Authors read, so many Ages looked into, so many Faiths examined, so many Expositors conferred, so many Contradictions reconciled, so many Countries travelled, for any considerable satisfaction) to believe all, is inconsistent; to neglect all, is impious; There remains no other way for the Laicks, but to recollect and stick to the most Common, Authentick and Universal Truths, tending to Virtue and Godliness; apart from what is doubtful and controverted, and tending only to strife and perplexity; and by these to live our selves, and examine all other pretensions whatever; there being no part of Religion but what hath Virtue and Grace as its Foundation and Design: A way that would keep men from Atheism, under a sense of Religion: from*
end-

Hen. 8. *endless controversies, in the solid practice of Virtue; from fatal Divisions, in peace and concord. Let us (said he) establish and fix these Catholique and Universal Notions, and they will settle our Souls, and not hinder us to believe whatsoever is faithfully taught by the Church, or submit to what is authoritatively enjoined by the State. So that whether the Eastern, Western, Northern, or Southern Teachers, &c. and particularly whether my Lord of Rochester, or Luther, &c. be in the Right, we Laicks may so build upon those Catholicks and infalliable Guards of Religion, as whatsoever superstructures of Faith be raised, these Foundations may support them.*

This discourse opened a door to the reformation intended, and shut out all those prejudices it might lie under from the state, and religion of fore-fathers, &c.

Hereupon sir William is invited to court; and when the air and softness of that place suited not his more severe and stirring temper, he is promoted to authority first by land, and then by sea; where none was more watchful in the wars between Us and France, none so active in those between Us and Scotland: with thirty-six ships he gave law to the narrow seas, as Poyntz with forty more did to the main: there was not a serviceable man belonging to him, but he knew by name; it being his rule, *That none fought well, but those that did it for a fortune.*

While he watched the coast of France, he discovered twelve French ships, in which the archbishop of Glasco, and divers others of quality were, (whom the duke of Albany had sent before

fore him into Scotland;) these he chased to a Hen. 8.
 shipwrack: and leaving a squadron to shut up
 the French havens, went along the French
 coasts, landing in divers places, wasting the
 country, till at last he came to Treport, a town
 strongly situated, and garrisoned with three thou-
 sand men, which yet he took; and finding it not
 his interest to dwell there, pillaged and burned
 it, going off with success and glory: insomuch
 that king Henry joined him with the bishop of
 Bath in the commission for the treaty at Paris;
 where such articles were agreed on touching a
 marriage with the princess Mary, and the joynt
 embassie to the emperor, as spake sir William
 as well seen in the state of Europe, as any par-
 ticular person in the seven kingdoms of it:
 whereof one was, *That they should unite by all
 the ties of alliance, friendship and Interest, against
 the growing power of Austria, so far as that there
 should be no league, correspondence, war or peace,
 wherein they both should not be concerned.*

From his forein negotiations he returns to his
 home-services: and the next view we have of
 him is in the parliament, bringing up with sir
 Anthony Fitz-Herbert, a bill against the cardi-
 nal; who wished then, as Philip duke of Bur-
 gundy did, that with Alexander he had died
 young.

.1 *For encroaching upon his sovereign's power by
 his legantine authority.*

2. *For treating between the pope and the king
 of France, without his master's privity and con-
 sent; as likewise between himself and the duke of
 Ferrara.*

3. *For joyning himself with his majesty; saying,
 The King and I.*

4. *For*

Hen. 8. 4. For swearing his household servants only to himself.

5. For speaking with the king, when infected with the Pox, pretending it was only an imposthume.

6. For giving by prevention divers Benefices away, as legate.

7. For receiving ambassadors before they came to the king: as also for opening all the king's letters, and taking an account of all espials, concealing what he pleased.

8. For carrying things with an high hand in the privy council.

9. For transporting grain, and sending advertisements of the king's affairs abroad.

10. For taxing or alienating religious men's lands, to the great decay of hospitality and charity.

11. For controuling the nobility, and engrossing all causes in his jurisdiction.

12. For taking all ordinary jurisdiction from them by prevention, and seizing their estates, as he did all other ecclesiastical persons upon their death.

13. For persuading the pope by indirect practices to suppress monasteries.

14. For passing judgments without hearing, and reversing such judgments as had duly passed.


15. For suspending the pope's pardons until he was see'd.

16. For turning out his old tenants.

17. For his general encroachments upon the rights of religious houses, and the encroachments of courts of justice.

18. For saying to the pope, in order to the obtaining of a legantine power, to the indelible shame of the church of England, That the clergy of England were given in reprobum sensum.

19. For

19. For embezzling the goods of the most weakby Hen. 8. prelates that died in his time. 

20. For bringing off his servants from the law against extortion, at York.

21. For dividing the nobility.

22. For keeping as great state at court, and exercising as great authority in the country for purveyance, &c. as the king.

23. For forbidding petitions and purveyances within his jurisdictions.

24. For engrossing all copy-holds within his power, to his lemans, procurers, &c.

25. For altering the market-prices set under his majesties band and seal.

26. For impressing his Hat under the king's Crown in the coyn at York.

27. For bindering the due course intended by visiting the Universities to suppress heresies.

28. For disposing of men's estates and proprieties at his pleasure.

This bill was aggravated most effectually, by three most pinching considerations: viz. That the king's honour was by him diminished: that the state of the realm was by him decayed and discontented: that the course of justice was by him obstructed. A great undertaking, this! to bring down this lofty prelate! (whom his master created the king's fellow, and his own pride made his superiour) but as wise as great, if we regard the five politick circumstances:

1. The queen was engaged.

2. The people were oppressed.

3. The king was needy and covetous.

4. The nobility were kept under.

5. The

Hen. 8. 5. The clergy were harrassed : and all by this proud man : and at that juncture is he convened before the parliament, and charged home by this excellent knight, who never left him till he was humbled, as justice Fitz-Herbert did not his servants, until they were reformed.

Neither did the pope escape him abroad, better than the cardinal at home : for his next action we find is a declaration drawn by him, Jo. Fitz-Warren, Tho. Audley, and others, to pope Clement the seventh, expostulating his delays, and conjuring his dispatch in the business of the king's marriage.

Very serviceable he was to his master in time of peace, more in time of war, where he said as the great general did, that he never saw fear, but upon the back of his enemies : and particularly at the insurrection 1536. where he cut off the rebel's passes, distressed their arms, and when they refused a treaty but upon condition that Ashe their leader was *pledged*, advised an engagement with them out of hand ; saying, *No English-man should be undervalued so far as to be an Hostage for a villain :* and adding further (so good was his intelligence) *That if they were not defeated speedily, the Scots and Germans would discover that they had but too much hand in this plot.*

For which his services, his master raised him to the admiralship of England, and the earldom of Southampton ; in which quality he was one of the three noblemen that managed the business of divorce between the king and Anne of Cleve, with that applause that made him lord privy-seal, Nov. 14, 1541. and the grand examinant
of

of the particulars in the lady Katherin Howard's Hen. 8. case, a matter of great trust and secrecy; which he performed with a searching and deep judgment, beyond that ladies fear and the king's expectation; as appears from the exact account given under sir Tho. Audley and his own hands, touching that matter.

Having provided for the king's safety at home, he is one of four that treat for his interest abroad, I mean upon the borders of Scotland; where our excellent person's dexterity was observed, in gaining that time by various proposals for peace, that served his master to provide against the war; in the beginning whereof, the brave lord died at York: so much esteemed, that for the honour of his memory his standard was born in the forward, all this expedition. A person in whom prudence was even with activity, resolution with prudence; success with resolution, moderation with success; honour and favour with all.

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Darcy.

SIR Thomas Darcy was one of king Henry Lloyd. the eighth's first counsellours, so advanced (as most of his fellows) not for affection, but interest; owing his promotion to his own sufficiency, rather than his master's favour. His counsel was weighty at home, his assistance necessary abroad; where in behalf of pope Julius

Hen. 8. lius the second and the emperour, he did more with 1500 archers in a year for the balancing of Europe, than had been done before in an age.


No employment so dangerous at that time as that of the warden of the west marches of Scotland, none so noble for that employment as my lord, who was equally knowing and stout, and at once most *feared*, and most *loved*.

The earl of Shrewsbury made some inroads into Scotland, the lord Darcy seconds him : but being surprized by the duke of Albany's preparations, he had as much wit to make peace, as he had resolution to carry on the war. None knew better when to yield, none better when to conquer ; so great a command had he over himself ! so great over the enemy, that he brought them to request his wish, and offer what was his interest ! with the duke of Surry's assistance by land, and Fitz-Williams his by sea, he reduced that nation to a good intelligence with us that year, and a peace the next ; a peace (as he observed) that would be no longer kept, than we had a sword in our hands, and an army on their borders : *For conscience guided other parts of the World,* (he said) *and fear Scotland :* whence he invaded them duely once a year.

Observations on the Life of Sir
Thomas Howard.

SIR Edward's brother in worth, as well as Lloyd. blood: his father's interest set him up, and his own industry kept him so: all the children were brought up for *Sea-Services*, this gentleman for *Sea-Commands*. He immediately succeeds his younger brother in the admiralty; and wisely considering the advantage of the French gallies in a calm, the number of their ships, the danger of their winds for us, if they blew south-west, desired of the king so many souldiers as might man the ships, and make good the landing, wherewith he scoured the seas, and secured the king's passage, with so much honour, that he was able to assist his father at court, as much as Wolsey did Fox; his gallantry being no less pleasing to his master, than the other young favourite's compliance; and both these young men had no less art to govern their prince, than he had to govern his kingdom: these arts, which all other favourites use, being hopes and fears, which as doors and passages to the heart, are so guarded by their vigilancy, that they can both let themselves in, and keep all others out: the two ends upon which the thread of government depends. His father is made duke of Norfolk, and earl of Surry; both are an eye-fore to the cardinal, whose fortune had no superior in the king's

Hen. 8. king's favour, whose ambition would endure no equal. The old man's years and cares are fitted with a retirement in the country; the young man's ambition and activity, with a government in Ireland, which he reduced as speedily to obedience (notwithstanding Desmond's rebellion) as he had to civility, had it not been for Wolsey's underminings, who endured no publick service but what he did himself; and would chuse rather that the kingdom should perish by a traytor, than be saved by a *Nobleman*. Beloved he was by that country (where he left a peace and a parliament, *Anno* 1521.) so that they were loth to part with him: wanted he was by the king, to scour the narrow seas for the French war; so that he must have him. The king hath made him formerly *His* admiral, the emperour upon his return from England makes him his; and with both their commissions he lands in Normandy, wastes the adjacent countries, (sparing only religious houses) takes and sacks Morlais in Bretain (which he entered under the smoak) burns their ships, commands the sea, and sets the emperour safe in Spain; advising his majesty from thence to make a general muster of his subjects for his own satisfaction and others terrour, *March* 27, 1522. The troubles in Scotland required an able head and a stout heart, two endowments that no man was more master of than the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk (upon his beloved father's decease) whose prudence toyled the Scots to deliver up their king, as his prowess frightened them to yield up themselves, as they did in that most exquisite treaty, where the earl of Worcester beat the *Bush*, saith my noble author, and our duke caught the *Hare*. A

A while after he is earl marshal, and embassa- Hen. 8.
dor to king Francis about those two grand points: 

1. *That the French King should set up a Patriarch :*
2. *That he should stop up all the payments made to Rome, with fair promises of that supply of men and money he then most wanted.*

When the pope stuck to queen Katherine, three things he advised the king to :

1. To teach the people that a general council was above the pope, and proclaim that he did appeal to it.

2. To fix upon every church-door the dowager's appeal to Rome, and the late statute against it.

3. To confederate with the kings of Hungary and Poland, the estates of the empire and the Hanse towns. Three things that would settle his people at home, and strengthen his interest abroad: to which he added the statute of succession, the oath of supremacy, sir William Howard's embassy to the Scotch king, the suppression of religious houses, the war in Ireland under sir William Skeffington, and a thorough search into the bottom of the rebellion in the north, by a connivance and delay.

But all his services could not quit him from suspicion, nor his popularity from envy: the lord Darcy accuseth him to excuse himself, and Cromwel seconds him to secure himself: and (as unhappineſſes follow one another in the same order as one wave floweth after another) his nieces miscarriages threatned his fall; but that the honest man (as appears from a letter the whole council sent to sir William Paget then resident in France) was the first that declared against her,

Hen. 8. and put the king upon the most safe and honourable ways of trying her; which satisfied his majesty so far, that he employed him as chief in the treaty upon the borders, and general in the war when that treaty failed; sir Anthony Brown, upon his recommendation, being added to the commissioners in Scotland, and to the privy-council in England, as master of the king's horse, as sir John Gages was comptroller of his house.

Several persons came to London for a reward of their Scotch services; this duke gave the king a wary and grave counsel, to bestow upon them as much land as they could win in Scotland.

But greatness is fatal: the king is old and testy, the government disordered and irregular, the duke too stiffly honest to comply, the council envy him; and in this juncture his wife's passion discovereth his minions, and they, to save themselves, his privacies and secrets: his son, a man of a deep understanding, of a sharp wit and great valour, bred up with Henry Fitz-roy at Windsor, and afterwards at Paris, was beheaded before his face. His favourite Mrs. Holland deposed, that he said many looked for the protectorship (when the king, who lived and moved by engines and art, rather than by nature, should die) but he would carry it: that the king did not love him because he was loved by his country; but he would follow his father's lesson, which was, *That the less others set by him, the more he would set by himself*: that he had a daughter for the king as well as others, &c. His estate was great, his power greater; the king's occasions had swallowed up the one, and his enemies

mies ambition the other, notwithstanding **Hen. 8.**
his humble submission before the council, and
his many services to the king, had not his ma-
jesties death saved his life.

As the deepest hate is that which springs from violent love, so the greatest discourtesies oft arise from the largest favours. It is indiscreet to oppress any, dangerous a prince with kindnesses ; which being fetters, are treason on that person : but suspicion ! ah sad suspicion ! the companion of the weak or guilty ! the cloud of the mind ! the forfeiture of friends ! the check of business ! thou that disposhest kings to tyranny ! husbands to jealousy ! wise men to irresolution and melancholy ! trust, and you need never suspect : but policy and friendship are incompatible, I see ; where Norfolk begs that life from the block at last, which he had ventured two and thirty times for his sovereign. Who knows the cares that go to bed with statesmen ! enemies abroad, treacheries at home, emulations of neighbours, dissatisfaction of friends ; jealousies of most, fear of all : unwelcome inventions to palliate unjust courses : fears of miscarriage and disgrace ; with projects of honour and plausibility, with restless thoughts how to discover, prevent, conceal, accommodate the adversarie's, or his own affairs. Let us live, and love, and say, *God belp poor Kings !*



Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Stanley.

Lloyd.

THE Stanley's service to Henry the seventh, was a sufficient pledge of their faithfulness to Henry the eighth. Honour floated in sir Edward's blood, and valour danced in his spirits : his stirring childhood brought him to Henry the eighth's company, and his active manhood to his service. The camp was his school, and his learning was a pike and sword ; therefore his master's greeting to him was when they met, *Hob, my Souldier!* in many places did he shew himself, but no where more than at Flodden, where his archers fetched down the Scots from their fastness, and relieved the English from their distress ; the earl of Surrey beginning the conquest, and sir Edward crowning it : for which the king immediately set him high in his favour, and not long after, as high in the world, being made baron Stanley, and lord Mounteagle. Twice did he and sir John Wallop land with only 800 men in the heart of France, and four times did he and sir Thomas Lovell save Callis ; the first time by intelligence ; the second by a stratagem ; the third by valour and resolution ; and the fourth, by hardship, patience, and industry.

In the dangerous insurrection by Ashe and captain Cobler, his zeal for the states welfare was above scruples, and his army was with him before
his

his commission: for which dangerous piece of Hen. 8. loyalty, he asked pardon, and received thanks. Two things he did towards the discomfiture of the rebels, (whose skill in arms exceeded his followers, as much as his policy did their leaders) first, he cut off their provisions, and then secondly, sowed sedition among them, whilst his majesty gained time by pretended treaties to be even with them, drawing off the most eminent of the factious every day, and confounding the rest. He lived with this strange opinion, that the soul of man was like the winding up of a watch, and when the string was run out, the man died, and there the soul determined, but he died not so.

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bolen.

THE city enriched this family, their parts raised them; his activity was as taking with king Henry, as his daughter's beauty. He was the picklock of princes: upon his word only would the king model his designs, and upon his word alter them. He discovered Ferdinand's underhand treaty with Lewis, and his design upon Navarre; and writ to his master to press the ambiguous man to a conclusion, and to send over some treasure: *for, said he, the whole World is now to be sold*; adding the necessity of a peace, or at least a truce with Scotland. Sir Thomas

Lloyd.

Hen. 8. Bolen was against the king's going to France in person before he had some more issue, or * Edward de la Pool were dispatched out of the way. Sir Thomas Howard was for it, it being dangerous to entrust so noble an army, or so renowned an action with any subject, especially when Maximilian the emperor offered to serve under his majesty as lieutenant, and the pope to attend him as chaplain. There is nothing more remarkable of sir Thomas Bolen, than, 1. The education of his children; his eldest son being bred at the emperor's court, his youngest with the pope at Rome, and his daughter with queen Mary in France. 2. His negotiation with the lord St. Johns in Germany, where he over-reached the emperor no less than the earl of Worcester did the French king: so cunningly binding him, that he understood nothing of our affairs; and yet so narrowly sifting him, that we knew all his intrigues. Visible was all the world to our state then, and invisible our state to all the world.

From Germany he is sent with Richard Sampson, D. H. to Spain, to set Charles as forward against the French, as he had done Maximilian. His service advanced him to the honour of a barony and a † viscountship, and the profit of the treasureship of the household; and his success upon the malecontent duke of Bourbon by sir Jo. Ruffel, who treated with him in disguise, set him as high in the king's favour, as his wife was; a virtuous lady, that was the king's friend, but not his mistress; his *delight*, and not his *sin*.

In

* One of the house of York.

† He is made Viscount Rochford.

In Spain so earnestly did our sir Thomas mediate for the delivering up of the French hostages, that (as Sandoval saith) *Charles protested to him, that for his sake only he would relinquish his Demand for the restitution of Burgundy, in which the difficulty of the peace consisted:* adding further, *That for the same reason he would accept as well for Francis his two sons ransome, as his charge,* what was freely offered, viz. 2000000 crowns: and he with sir Robert Poyntz make up that treaty, the great arbitrators of *Europe!* at whose disposal kings set their crowns, and kingdoms their peace; in whose breast fate the fate of *Christendome*, by their voices to stand or fall.

As faithful is he to the king at home, though to his own prejudice, as he is serviceable abroad, to his honour: for when the people talked oddly out of envy to his daughter, (now visibly in favour) and pity to queen Katherine, sir Thomas adviseth his majesty to forbid his daughter the court, and declare that those proceedings were more to satisfy his conscience, and secure succession, than to gratify any other more private respect: so far to his daughter's discontent, that she would not come near the king until her father was commanded (not without threats) to bring her thither; who by representing the common danger to them both, obtained at length (saith my lord Herbert, though not without much difficulty, the consent of his unwilling daughter to return: where yet she kept that distance, that the king might easily perceive how sensible she was of her late dismissal. Sir Thomas would have married her to the lord Percy, but the king and cardinal forbad it; deterring old Northumberland

Hen. 8. berland from it, and he his son. Many love-
 letters between king Henry and Anne Bolen are
 sent to Rome : one letter between the cardinal
 and his confederates is fetched thence by sir Tho-
 mas his dexterity ; who advised sir Francis Bryan,
 then resident, to get in with the pope's closet-
 keepers Courtezan, and shew her the cardinal's
 hand, by which she might find out and copy his
 expresses ; as she did to his ruine, and our king's
 great satisfaction. To which letter is annexed a
 declaration under his hand, and the lords Darcy,
 Mountjoy, Dorset, and Norfolk, of forty-four
 articles against the great cardinal. His hand be-
 ing now in, he must *through* : he adviseth the
 king to consult the universities of *Christendome* :
 he goeth in person when made earl of Wiltshire
 to the pope, and contrives that a declaration of
 the whole kingdome in parliament should follow
 him : which so amused his holiness with our earl's
 stratagems, that he was asleep as it were until the
 state of England was quite altered. To this he
 adds the peace with France, and the interview
 with king Francis, where his daughter is married
 privately, and her brother made viscount Roch-
 ford. Convening a parliament to his mind at
 Black-Fryers, and advancing an archbishop to
 his purpose in Canterbury, he is secure of the
 church and of the kingdom ; whereof the first
 hallowed the action, and the second confirmed it.
 I say nothing of the bird, the egge is bad, and
 left by the hard hearted ostridge posterity in
 the sand : thinking it more ingenuous to confess
 that the scandal of it is not to be answered, than
 to bustle and keep a coil, and twist new errors
 with old, falling to *Scylla* for fear of *Charybdis*,
 for

for fear of the absurdities that dropped from that Hen. 8. first one as thick as Sampson's enemies heaps upon heaps.

Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Howard.

HE set out with his father's reputation, and Lloyd. came home with his own: *Britain* feels his arm to this day, and the French his success. Desperate were his undertakings, yet happy; rash his engagements, yet honourable; it being his maxime, *That never did Sea-man good, that was not resolute to a degree of madness.* The French fleet he pursueth to the haven under their own forts closely. Sir Edward considering the order wherein the French lay, thought fit to advertise his king and master thereof; advising him withal, (saith my author) to come in person, and have the glory of this action: but the king's council taking this message into consideration, and conceiving that it was not altogether fear, (as was thought) but stratagem and cunning that made the French thus attend their advantage; thought the king was not invited so much to the honour, as to the danger of this action; therefore they write sharply to him again, commanding him to do his duty: whereof that brave person was so sensible, that he landed 1500 men in the sight of 10000, and wasted the country, until being too confident, he fell a while after into his

Hen. 8. his enemies hands ; the lord Ferrers, sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Richard Cornwal, and sir John Wallip looking on, but not able to relieve him. Four reasons he would usually give against a war with the low-countries : 1. The decay of trade : 2. The diminution of customs : 3. The strengthening of France : 4. The loss of their industry and inventions, and so of the improvement of our commodities and manufactures. In the youth of this state, as of all others, arms did flourish ; in the middle-gate of it, learning ; and in the declining, (as covetousness and thrift attend old age) mechanick arts and merchandize : and this gentleman was made for each part, being not so much a souldier as a scholar, nor so much a scholar as a merchant. But a private spirit is most unfortunate ; and (as my oracle assures me) *whereas men of that temper all their time sacrifice to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to fortune, whose wings they thought by their wisdom to have pinioned.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey.

Lloyd.

SIR Thomas Howard was this king's prime counsellour ; a brave and an understanding man : who was obliged to be faithful to his master, because an enemy to Winchester : (emulation among favourites is the security of princes.)

Four motives he offered for a marriage with Hen. 8. the princess Katherine :

1. A league with Spain, against the growing power of our dangerous neighbour France.

2. The saving of much time and expence in marriage, by her being here.

3. The consideration of that vast sum of money that must be exported if she goeth away. And

4. The great obligation laid on the pope by that dispensation, which would secure to him the king and his posterity, not otherwise legitimate but by his authority.

His estate was much wasted in the service of Henry the seventh, and as much improved by the treasures of Henry the eighth, which amounted in the beginning of his reign to 1800000*l.* *i. e.* at the rate of money now adays, six millions and an half; which he dispensed so thriftily, that old Winchester could not trapan him; and yet so nobly, that young Henry was pleased with him. Sir William Compton set up the king's * rich life-guards, (under Bouchier earl of Essex as captain, and the valiant sir Jo. Peachy who kept Calais in so good order with 300 men, as lieutenant) but this wary earl put them down again. When news was brought that Epmson and Dudley were slain, it was the earl's opinion that his majesty had done more like a good king than a good master. When the narrow seas (whereof the kings of England have been very tender) were infested, this old treasurer and earl-marshal cleared it by his two sons Ed.

* They were 50, with an archer, a demilance and a constillier a piece: they and their horses being vested in cloath of gold.

Hen. 8. Edward and Thomas, saying, *The King of England should not be imprisoned in his Kingdome, while either he had an Estate to set up a Ship, or a son to command it.* In three weeks did he settle the North against the invasions of James the fourth, now inclining to the French; and in a fortnight did he raise 40000*l.* to pay the army, now ready to mutiny: insomuch, that when king James denounced war against king Henry, he said, he had an earl in the North that would secure his kingdom; as he did with much resolution, prudence, and success at Flodden-Field, where he saw a king at his feet, and a whole kingdome at his mercy; where he was forced to fight, so barren the country, (*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*) where yet he pitched upon the most advantageous place and time; so great his command of himself, and so noble his conduct!

He sends Rouge Croix to the Scotch king, to tell him, *That though he saw no Enemy at Sea, he hoped to find some upon the Land: That he came to justifie Bretons death, which it was as much below a King to revenge, as it was below a privy-counsellour to have deserved: That he expected as little mercy as he intended; his sword being commissioned to spare none but the King, whom no hand must touch.* To this defiance, he added a caution to the herauld, *That he should bring no messenger from the Enemy nearer than two miles of the Camp.* So well were the Scots encamped, that when neither arguments nor stratagems would draw them out, the earl cuts off their provision there; and under the covert of a smoak got the earl under the hill, and under another of mist got they atop: the Scots played the *men*, until Stanley and Darcy

Darcy did *more* than *men* : and the old man's re-
 servè concluded the doubtful day in so compleat
 a conquest, as brought 12000 arms, 16 cannons,
 4000 prisoners, and a peace to the English bor-
 ders. Upon which, the general retires to those
 more necessary exercises of justice and govern-
 ment, until his master's return : when all his ser-
 vices advanced him (at that time when it was a
 maxime of state, *That Honours are the Lustre and
 Security of Crowns*) to his father's dukedom of
 Norfolk, as his son's merits promoted him to
 his of the earldom of Surrey.

The king's coffers decay, and his occasions
 grow : the old man retires to his country-house,
 having enjoyed his honour *Thirty* years, to enjoy
 himself *Three* : one of his last undertakings be-
 ing the appeasing of the London tumults, May
 1, 1517, when he left this behind him, *A potent
 and wanton City, is a shrewd Enemy.*

Observations on the Life of Sir William Compton.

HE was chief gentleman of the bedchamber **Lloyd.**
 to Henry the eighth, and next to the chief
 in the affections of the same prince : if his spirit
 had been as even with his favour, as his favour
 was with his merits, he had been the most useful
 as well as the most eminent man in England : but
 he was too narrow for his fortune, and more at-
 tentive to his private advantage, than to the pub-
 lick affairs : this saying is at once his history and
 Monu-

Hen. 8. monument ; *Kings must bear all, but believe only one : for none can give a solid advice but he that knoweth all, and he must not be every body.* As to the affairs of Europe, sir William was clearly for the league against France, as an opportunity to regain our right in France, and strengthen our interest in the church and the empire. My lord Darcy was against it ; because France was too hard for us before it swallowed up our * confederates, and much more since : advising some more noble attempts for our just empire upon the Indies. The young king is for a war with France, as an engagement upon the pope to advance England above all other kingdoms ; and declares himself as much sir William's in opinion as he was in his affection.

This gentleman had a deep insight in any thing he undertook, because he had a great patience to consider, an advantageous slowness to recollect, a strong memory to grasp, and an indifferent temper to judge : but when a matter exceeded his capacity, or out-reached his sphere and orb, he had either a peremptory and great word to urge it, or a sleight to wave it, or a subtlety to perplex it, (that his amazed fellow-commissioners should as little understand it) or a countenance and gesture to overbear it. However, in general he was close and reserved, (he had need go softly that cannot well see) leaving himself without observation or hold to be taken what he was. He studied the king's nature, rather than his business ; and humoured rather than advised him. The referring of all to a man, becomes a prince, whose self is not himself, but the community, (their

* Of Bretany and Normandy.

(their good and evil being (as my lord Bacon Hen. 8. writes) at the peril of a publick fortune, but not a subject, whose private advantage may be a publick ruine; not a favourite, whose benefit by that selfishness may be narrow as his own fortune, but the hurt done by it is as large as his master's, who must needs be undone, when his servants study to *please Him*, and to *profit themselves*.)

Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Marney.

SIR Henry Marney was one of young Henry's first council, who loved his person well, and his prosperity better; and impartially advised him for his good, and modestly contested with him against his harm; that council that was hand as well as head, and could perform as well as advise: this was the searching judgment that discovered Buonviso the Lucches his letters to the French king, betraying our designs as soon as thought on, and instructing him for prevention, before our king was ready for the attempt. Industry and thrift over-rules princes: this personage had no time to transcribe intelligence, but what he borrowed from his sleep; nor money to buy it, but what he saved out of his allowance: yet he understood more than any one prince of Europe, and was more consulted than any one statesman. His judgment was much valued, his integrity more; ever offering what was solid-

Hen. 8. solidly safe, rather than what was superficially plausible: as one who was a stranger to the wisdom of the latter age, (as sir Francis Bacon describes it) which is rather *fine Deliveries* and shifts from inconveniencies, than solid and grounded courses for advantage. His foresight was large, and his spirit larger: he considered all circumstances that occurred to him; judged what he considered, and spoke what he judged with that resolution as to his opinion, that argued he understood the matter in question; with that modesty as to his superiours, that shewed he understood himself. He would say that he that could not with the *Cameleon* change colour with the aire he lived in, must with the *Cameleon* live only upon aire.

Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Poynings.

Lloyd. S I R Edward Poynings was the third of eighteen counsellours bequeathed by Henry the VII, to his son, with his kingdom; a privy council wherein there was not one lawyer! and a cabal that never condescended for advice to any below themselves; or for performance of any of their degrees to any besides themselves; being a compleat body of active and knowing men in their own orb. Who more prudent than Surrey? who more resolved than Poynings? whose vigilancy made him master of the Cinque Ports,
as

as his valour advanced him general of the Low-Hen. 8. Country forces, whom he led on to several services with such success, and brought off (with the loss of not above an hundred men) with honour from the lady Margaret, and applause from the whole country.

No less happy was he in his government of Tournay, until the council at home (now grown thin by the secession of Warham, Fox, and Norfolk) had more need of him than garrisons abroad: vainly is that spirit penned within a city, that was equal to a kingdom. It is the unhappiness of other monarchies, that they have not men answerable to their employments; it was the unhappiness of this, that it had not employment suitable to its men.

He liv'd and died in arms: Bulloign saw him first a souldier, and Bulloign saw him last the best camp-master in all Christendom: always observing three things:

1. The *Situation* of his camp to *secure* his army.

2. The *Accommodation* of it, to *supply* it.

3. His retreat, to draw off: the avenues, to be guarded with souldiers, and strengthened with re-doubts; which he made triangular, that more men might engage the enemy at once: during erection whereof, the army was pallisado'd in the front with stakes headed with iron on both ends five foot long, and stuck slope-wise into the ground, to keep off both horse and foot: the foot-sentinels were without the redoubts, the horse-guards beyond them, at distance enough to descry the enemy, and not too much, to retire to their works. A serious and plodding brow

Hen. 8. bespoke this noble knight's deep prudence, and
 a smart look his resolved valour; who was a man
 vastly different in his publick capacity, from
 what he was in his private employment:

*Quemquam posse putas mores narrare futuros?
 Dic mihi, si fias tu leo, qualis eris.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Charles Somerset.

Lloyd.

SIR Charles Somerset, afterward lord Herbert of Gower, &c. endeared himself to king H. as much for his maxime, *That Reason of State was Reason of Law*; as for his advice, *That the King should never stick at Law, in case of Publique Good*; and yet that all his acts for publique Good should come as near as possible to the Law. So popular was this gentleman, that he received all the petitions against Empson and Dudley; yet so loyal, that he advised his majesty neither to spare those leeches, lest any should presume to alienate his peoples affections from him by extortions for the future; nor yet too severely to punish them, lest any should be discouraged to serve the crown for the present: (for indeed Empson and Dudley suffered for that which others were advanced for; the parliament punished them for putting their laws in execution, and the king deserted them for improving his exchequer to a treasury.)

Two things this lord advised his master to, be- **Hen. 8.**
fore he put the crown upon his head.

1. To redress the peoples grievances under his father.

2. To marry not in France; where he had a title: a kingdom so near us, that by reason of mutual jealousies we may have peace with it sometimes, but friendships never.

In the household he was lord Chamberlain, so discreet his carriage! in the French expedition; *Anno* 1513, he was general, so noble his conduct. His assistants were the earl of Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Kent and Wiltshire; his followers, the lord Audley, De la Ware, * Carew and Curson, &c.

Therovene he besieged in good order, and with Wolsey's advice, who had lived long in that town; understands all the avenues of it; and with sir Oughtred, sir Henry Guildford, sir Edward Poynings, sir Charles Brandon, and sir Alexander Baynam's assistance, sprung several mines, repulsed the French relief and the city-assailants, so that the town was yielded August 22, 1513, and upon Maximilian's intreaty razed as he did Tournay, September 22. Herbert was for razing this place, as farther from us than Therovene; but Wolsey for the bishoprick's sake, is for the garisoning of it, as a trophy. The king recollecting his former occasions, Feb. 3, 1514, thought he could not do a more just or a more prudent act, than recompense his noble servants (but the cheapest way, I mean that of
M 2. honour)

* Master of the ordinance who was killed the first night before Therovene.

Hen. 8. honour) as he did old Somerset with the earldome
 of Worcester.

With this honour at home, is joyned another abroad, viz. That of embassie to Maximilian, where he reached that *German's* depths, and clearly demonstrated that those fond and impossible offers of the empire, were but artifices rather than kindnesses: to drain the king's treasure, rather than enlarge his dominions: advising him to raise a citadel at Tournay, and an army in Normandy. he finished the espousals between the princess Mary and the Dolphin; and delivered Tournay, by the same token that he would not let the Marechal de Castillon to enter with banner displayed, but rolled up, it being (as he said, who with lord Herbert was at the taking of it) voluntarily yielded up, and not gotten by conquest: and then bestowed himself with sir Richard Wingfield for the great interview between king Francis and king Henry; an interview I know not whether more solemn or more dangerous: kings cannot meet without great state, and they seldom part without much envy; who never are further asunder than when they *meet*. His most eminent action here, was the device of that motto, * *Cui adhaereo, praest*; a motto that speaks the honour of England, and the interest of Europe. The arbitrators commanding both the parties, submitting to their arbitration for two cities in Italy, contending about their bounds, choose the people of Rome to be their arbitrators; they gave their city a small pittance, and reserved all the rest to them-

* He to whom I adhere is superior.

themselves; * *Quod in medio est Populo Romano* Hen. 8.
adjudicetur. ~

Observations on the Life of Thomas Grey Marquess of Dorset.

THE king's wars called for souldiers, and Lloyd.
 his peace for statesmen; and here is a person
 † *ex utraque magnus*; when the whole design for
 the invasion of France was ripened, this mar-
 quess is made general, and attended by the lord
 Thomas Howard, the lords Brook, Willoughby,
 and Ferrers, with divers knights, gentlemen,
 and others to the number of ten thousand men,
 armed not only with bows, but halberts: he
 distresth Navar to a submission to his master, &
 forceth his way to Bayon, and with sir John
 Styles assistance, kept up the English honour a-
 bove that of France, and the empire, keeping
 close to his commission, and not stirring a foot
 without express orders from Ireland: although
 his presence countenanced some actions his hands
 could not perform.

Three things he was very careful of.

1. Of good pay, lest his souldiers mutined.
2. Of good diet and quarters, lest they failed.
3. Of order, discipline, and temperance, es-
 pecially in strange climates, lest they should be
 distempered.

M. 3.

Two

* What is situated between, let it be adjudged to the
 Roman people.

† On either side great.

Hen. 8.

Two things he was unsuccessful for:

1. The narrowness of his commission.
2. The reach of Ferdinand, who designed the conquest of Navar, rather than of France.

Yet what reputation he lost by land, sir Edward Howard gained by sea, commanding the French ships to their harbours: over-running Britain, with sir Thomas Knevet the master of the horse, sir John Carew, and sir Henry Guildford's assistance he gave law in the Mediterranean, until he awed the neighbour-princes to terms as honourable for his master, as dishonourable for themselves: now we find him valiant in earnest at sea, anon so in jest at court (at the solemn jousts proclaimed by Francis de Valois, duke of Angoulême in France) his nature being not flinted, but equally free to debonair and serious enterprises of *Pleasure* or of *Honour*; where six Germans were at his mercy, and four Frenchmen at his feet: His spirit equalled those active times, and his temper his spirit.

Three things set him up

1. His large expences for shew at court.
2. His strength and manhood at jousts.
3. His skill and experience in the field.

He was the best for embattelling an army in those times; observing

1. The number, strength, and experience of his camp.
2. The nature and extent of the place, whether champain or inclosed, hilly or plain, wooddy or moorish, straight or large; that he might accordingly dispose of distances and stands.
3. Inclosures he aimed at for his foot, and champain for his horse, together with the advantages of wind and sun.
4. He

4. He impales the flank and rear with muskets, pikes, and carriages. Hen. 8.

5. His divisions were sundry, but well ordered to relieve one another: his main battels three: the largest in the front, the next in the middle, with some spaces between for the first to rally it self, or embody with the second; the third and strongest in the rear, so divided that the two first battles may retreat into it, and draw up in it's rear to watch the enemies disorder in pursuit.

It's observed of the Turks, that they never put their Janizaries (their best souldiers) in the front; but make use of them for reserves, by which they have been very successful: this noble marquess went not by rote or fore-conceived rules, but by present prudence, observing time, place, and persons; neither would he lie open to an enemies design by a constant method, but alter his stratagems, and contradict all the rules of discipline, to disorder the enemy, and disappoint his expectation.

He hath sometimes compounded the wings of his battle of ablest men, and the battle it self of the meanest; ordering them, if overpowered, to make their retreat to the rear of the other divisions, through the spaces appointed for that end; which the enemy percieving, followeth (not smelling the drift,) not without disorder, (as in all pursuits) between the two strong wings, who crush them in pieces: his field-pieces after once or twice discharging, were drawn within the divisions of the main battle, to fire the enemy at his next approaches if the front were disordered: and to avoid the execution of his enemies, his files were thin, and his dragoons ready to seize theirs,

Hen. 8. theirs; whereby at least they were hindred from shooting; his forlorn retired to the main battle, and out of the flanks thereof issued with fire-pots and granadoes upon the engaged enemy.

His horse were in full battalia's, whereof the first was the greatest, lined with shot, placed on each wing of the main army; always opening upon the opening of the enemy.

The greatest trust between man and man, is the trust of giving counsel: *For in other confidences (saith my lord Bacon) men commit the parts of life, their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their Counsellours, they commit the whole, by how much the more they are obliged to faithfulness and integrity.* None was more trusted than the marques, none more trusty: none understood clearer what was fit, none spoke plainer what he understood. *What wants a Sovereign?* (said a flattering courtier) *Truth;* (said a serious king) never had king more need of it than Henry, never less of it than he; whom it was less fatal to ruin, than to displease. But this soldier was as much above feare as flattery, that told him when pensive, *That never was that man merry, that had more than one Woman in his Bed, more than one Friend in his Bosom, more than one Faith in his Heart.*

So wary was this gentleman, that he was not rash, and so lost his advantage; so valiant that he was not contemptible, and so lost his command: he led others by the strongest authority of his own forwardness, his own example; he was led himself by the best guide, his own observation, his own experience: his book li-

mitted

mitted not his design, nor his paper-plot his Hen. 8. undertakings.



Land-service was his exercise, but the sea his delight: the compass his study, the stars his care, trade his thoughts, our own and foreign havens his discourse, a sea-man his familiar, and three sea-fights his triumph: his converse and speech was souldier-like, plain, short, smart and material: there was a time when he would say nothing; and a time when he would say something; but never a time when he would say all.

He was in a word the happy man, who, notwithstanding that the times could not endure his virtues, nor he their vices, died at once full of honour at court, and applause in the country, with this monument from the king, *That Honest and Good Man.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Robert Wingfield.

HIS parts and person endeared him to the Lloyd English court, his travel and experience recommended him to foreign negotiations, particularly in the emperor Maximilian's court, whom his arguments and his own interest drew off from France; sir Robert helping him to some observations touching the breach of the article of Cambray, as his pretense to this alteration, and offering him what men and money he pleased, as his encouragement to this undertaking:

Hen. 8. taking: sending in the mean time one Nicholas West, D. L. and dean of Windsor, to feel the pulse of all the princes in Christendome; and advising, upon an entire reflection on their several interests, the repair of our frontier towns and forts, an army ready in the north, and a constant parliament. He is deputy of Calice, and vice-roy of France: what the French lost in the field, they got by treaty, until sir Richard's time, whose policy went as far as his master's power, in that accord, *Which tyed up (they said) the French King's hands behind his back, and the Scotch between his legs.* Yea, he almost perswaded Maximilian out of his empire, 1615, though he wished the king not to accept of it until the French were out of Italy. Some do better by friends or letters, sir Robert best by himself; observing that he never failed, but when he intrusted others with what he could do himself; his person breeding regard, and his eye seeing more than any he could employ; and his present mind being more ready in his own affairs upon any alteration to come on, draw back, or otherwise accommodate matters, than any substitute, who seeth not the bottom of things, nor turns to occasions. He had about him his blades and gallants, to expostulate, his orators and fair-spoken-men, to perswade; his close and subtle ones, to enquire and observe; his froward men, to perplex; and his plain agents, to report: attendants for all services, whose experience made them knowing and confident. Doctor West, Pace, Lee, and Gardener's way was the circuit afar off; sir Robert's was the surprize, quick and nicked, no man observing time more closely;

ly; no man watching natures tempers, interests Hen. 8. advantages and ends more indefatigably. It was the observation of those dayes, that sir Robert Wingfield was the best to prepare and ripen designs, and sir Thomas Bolen to execute them: but that age was too boysterous, and he too wary to advance beyond the reputation of a knowing agent, in which capacity he lived; or of a resolved patriot, with which honour he dieth.

Observations on the Life of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

HIS blood was high, his revenue large; and Lloyd. he was born to adorn the court, rather than to serve it. He vied with the king in gallantry, and with the cardinal in pride: of the one he speaks irreverently, *That Women governed him more than he did the Kingdome*; of the other indiscreetly, *That Francis governed France, and Harry England, and Wolfey both*; adding, *That the Commonalty might well complain, when we had two Kings to maintain.* That which ruineth the world, ruineth him, his Tongue. Fate never undid a man without his own indiscretion; and her first stroke is at the Head. Abroad, none more gorgeous; at home, none more noble: at court, splendid; among his tenants, prince-like; to his relations, impartial. A fervant always pulled down the house of the Staffords; and now one Knevet his steward, whom he had discharged for

Hen. 8. for oppressing his tenants; undoeth him: for his father-in-law the earl of Northumberland is set under a cloud, and his son-in-law the earl of Surrey is removed, on pretence of honourable employment, out of the way; and Wolsey's malice at the duke hath its full scope; who now deals with Knevet's discontent to discover his master's life, and suggest, that the duke by way of discourse was wont to say how he meant to use the matter, that if king Henry died without issue, he would attain the crown, and punish the cardinal. George Nevil lord Abergavenny his son-in-law, impeached him, to save himself. His title to the crown was, his descent from Anne Plantagenet, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, son to Edward the third. His accusation was,

1. That he had conferred with a cunning man, (Hopkins, monk of Henton) concerning the future state of this realm; who advised him to popularity: for he should have all, if he had but the love of the people; the Wizard confirming this by revolutions, and the duke rewarding it with great encouragement.
2. That he disparaged the present government, and used arts to secure the succession.
3. That he had threatned king Henry with the same dagger that should have murthered Richard the third.

He denied the charge very eloquently, and disclaimed his life very rashly; his foolish words, rather than any designed malice, deserving rather pity than judgement. Much lamented was he

be by the people, and as much was the cardinal Hen. 8. maliced, being now called by the whole multitude, *The Butcher's Son*. When Buckingham fell, three things fell with him :

1. The splendour of the court.
2. Hospitality, and good landlords in the country. And,
3. The high-constableness of England.

All greatness is subject to envy ; but none more than that which is insolent and affected, being never its self without its pomp and shew. Plain and modest greatness is only safe : a witch then blasts a man when most prosperous, and the envious (the onely wizard in the world) when most glorious. Wise men therefore have eclipsed themselves, that they might not be gazed on ; and great ones have shrunk, and suffered themselves to be over-born, to be secure. Vain-glorious men are the scorn of the wise, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the envy of the unworthy, the busie, the unfortunate, the ambitious, and the rivals. He lives well, that lives in peace ; and he is safely great, that is great in his *Conscience*. Anger sure is but a weakness in any man, (it belongeth so much to the aged and the childish) and an indecency in a *Noble-man* : yet it might have been a gallantry in this duke, had it not, 1. Revealed secrets and so betrayed him ; and 2. Spoke bitterly and dangerously, and so abused him. So far will discontent carry nature, that it easily believes what it wisheth : so much doth a prophetick vanity sway English-men, (that have the most of *men* of any in the world in divinations, and an itch to know things to come) that the wittiest sit
Tho-

Hen. 8. Thomas More, the most devout bishop Fisher, the wisest cardinal Wolsey, and the most noble the duke of Buckingham, have been undone by hearkening after predictions; the two first, of Elizabeth Barton; the third of John Sacheveril; and the fourth, monk Hopkins. Always are these divinations (like the astrologers in Rome) by severe laws forbidden; yet always are they by vain persons obtruded. *Many Wives, wo England!* hardened many a male-content to his ruine in king Henry the eighth's time: *When HEMPE is spun, England is done*, encouraged many a papist to his undoing in queen Elizabeth's time: *Leo, Nullus*, confirmed many a deluded soul to his downfall in our days.

It was as fatal to this great man to trust his steward, as his wizard; the one deluded, the other betrayed him. It undoeth a man to be too close; therefore we have friends to ease our selves: it ruineth a man to be too open; therefore there is a *secret* not to be communicated to a friend. When the duke of Buckingham made Knevet his confessor, he made him his master. He that is master of my *Heart*, is master of my *Life*: *If my Shirt*, said Metellus, *knew my mindes, I would burn it*. If my servant or friend knows my intentions, I must either undo him, or be undone by him, unless he be so much above a man, as not out of weakness to *discover* me; or so much above a sinner, as not out of corruption to *betray* me. Wild beasts dwell in dens, fishes be in mud, and birds in nests, and a wise man is wrapped up in security. Gyges his ring was his wisdom, whereby he understood others, and was reserved himself. It's pity he ever learned to speak,

speak, that knoweth not how to be silent. *I Hen. 8.*
 would first be so wise, (saith a wit and wisdom
 of our age) as to be my own Counsellour, and next
 so secret as to be my own Counsel-keeper. Some of
 my servants may be of my bed-chamber, but
 none shall be of my closet. *Before I told you of*
 this (saith Charles the fifth of a designe disco-
 vered upon the seventeen provinces to his fa-
 vourite Lunemberg) I was Emperour, but now
 you are so.

But the height of the duke's spirit was equally unfortunate with the openness of it; and he fell no less because he despised Knevet, than because he trusted him.

Contemned dangers ruine surely, while they surprize us at once naked, and careless; as ill prepared to offend the slighted adversary, as to defend our misunderstood selves. The least beings have their spleen, and command our caution: no creature too mean to be *mischievous*; none too inconsiderate to be *feared*. As long as weakness can cling to power, and power to malice, what Knevet *would*, but *could* not, that Wolsey could and would. If my enemy be strong, he shall awe; if weak, he shall guard my life. Two things are necessary in this life, faithful friends, or severe enemies: the fewer of the former men of the duke's fortune have, the more use they should make of the latter. The greatest enemy, when observed, may do me a great kindness; the least neglected, can do no little mischief: security is the only misfortune, and carelessness the only fate that distresseth the world.

Hen. 8. But the duke threw away his life in a fatal ~~word~~ *word* which could not be repalled, (*I'll not ask the king for my Life*). Great need have we to guard that tongue, whence flows the issues of life and death; and weigh those words that go abroad for the measure of our weal or wo; our words being given us to treat with the world about either, discreetly to our happiness, or weakly to our ruine. It hath repented men that they have spoken at all times; it repented none to have been silent in king Henry's, when there was no security but to the *Reserved*, and the *Pliable*. Dionysius the tyrant, seeing one knocked down at one blow, said to his friends; *what a folly is it to wait for fair a command for fear of dying, which lasts no longer a space!*

Observations on the Life of Sir Anthony Brown


Lloyd.

HE was always one of the council to king Henry at home, and of his commissioners abroad: no treaty passing without his presence, no negotiation without his advice; the first carrying as much majesty with it, as the second did authority: the court having bred the one to a noble mein, as experience had done the other to an oracle; experience, I say, whereby he saw more, as Alexander boasted, with his eye, than others comprehended in their thoughts; that being knowledg in him, that was but conjecture in others.

He

He was the best compound in the world; a *Heaven* 8, learned, an *honest*, and a *travelled* man; a good nature, a large soul, and a settled mind made up of notes and observations upon the most material points of state he could learn at courts, religions, among the clergy; of discipline, among souldiers; of trade, among merchants; or of the situation, interest, avenues and strong holds, by his own eyes. *It's a pleasure to stand upon the shore, and to see ships tost upon the Sea; it's a pleasure to stand in the window of a Castle, and to see a Battel, with the adventures thereof below: but no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the Vantageground of Truth: (an Hill, saith my noble author) not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene; and to see the errors and wandrings, the mists and tempests in the Vale below: that content is better felt than expressed that this noble person took in his own clear thoughts, whilst it was mist all round about him; and when he was asked, What say Cromwel and Brown?*

Vespasian asked Apollonius *What was Nero's overthrew?* and he answered him, *Nero could tune the Harp well; but in Government sometimes he wound the pins too high, and sometimes he let them down too low.* Sir Anthony told Henry the eighth, *That his Government had been more easie, if he had either set it not so loose at first, or not so strict at last: (as there was indeed no king so various as his master, no state so changeable as his government.)* An even temper begets awe and reverence; whilst the wide extremes create either on the one hand contempt and insolence, or on the other discontent and murmuring. Haughty

Hen. 8. and violent courts never bless the owners with a
 settled peace.

This deep man was leiger in Rome six years, and agent in France ten : a person of great dispatch, because of an orderly method and procedure ; which he observed to a superstition, saying, *Time and Method are my Masters.* There are (saith my oracle) *three parts of business ; preparation, debate, and perfection :* the middle king Henry communicated to the whole council, the first and last to few, viz. to my lord Cromwel and sir Anthony Brown.

The highest matters were his care ; as the *Interview* in France, 1533, the most eminent statesmen his fellows, as the duke of Norfolk, the lord Rochford and the lord Paulet ; those noble persons bearing the state, and he managing the business of the embassies.

The wise man of Florence took care that Ferdinando of Naples, Medices of Florence, Sforza of Millain should gain nothing of one another, to the great security of Italy : sir Anthony watched our neighbours conquests, trade, approaches, &c. so closely, that none of those potentates, Charles the fifth, or king Francis, could win a spot of ground, but his master would balance it, and so secure Europe.

The interviews between princes he disallowed ; yet to satisfy his master, he provided for that in France so sumptuously, as one that understood the formality of a pageant was a real advantage to a government whose interest is as much to gain a reputation by pomp and shew, as support a welfare by prudence and strength : others apprehension of our greatness, contributing as
much

much to our welfare, as our welfare it self: opi- Hen. 8.
nion governs the world: princes *with* their ma-
jesty, may be oft envied and hated; *without* it,
they are always scorned and contemned: circum-
stances are often more than the main, and shadows
are not always shadows: outward esteem to a
great person, is a skin to fruit, which though a
thin cover, preserveth it: king Henry's person
and state did England more right in a *Year*, than
his predecessors arms in an *Age*; while they onely
impressed a *resolution* in the neighbours, he a *re-
verence*. As the reason of man correcting of his
sense about the magnitude and distance of
heavenly bodies, is an argument that he hath an
inorganical, immaterial, impassible, and immor-
tal soul; so this gentleman's conscience often re-
flecting upon his policy, about the circumstances
of many of his actions, was an argument that
he was ruled by holy, serious, and heavenly
principles: one effect whereof, was, that he de-
sired rather the admonishing paines of a lingring
death, than the favourable ease of a quick one,
he reckoning it not the effect of cruelty, but a
design of mercy, that he should dye so *ut sentiat
se mori*; and he looked on nothing as so great a
snare to his thoughts as the opinion of Origen,
and some others called merciful doctors, who did
endeavour to possess the church with their opi-
nion of an universal restitution of all creatures
to their pristine estate, after sufficient purgation;
or any thing more a temptation to other mens
souls, than the blasphemy of some, making God
the author of good and evil, so much worse than
the *Manichees* or *Marcionites*, as they held it not
of their good God, whom they called *Light*;
N 2 but

Hen. 8. but of their bad God whom they called *Darkness*.

As princes govern the people, so reason of state the princes: Spain at that time would command the sea, to keep us from the Indies: and our religion to keep us from a settlement: France suspected our neighbourhood, and engaged Scotland; the pope undermined our designs, and obliged the French. Sir Anthony at Rome, in respectful terms, and under protestation that his majesty intended no contempt of the see apostolick, or holy church, intimated his master's appeal to the next general council lawfully assembled; exhibiting also the authentick instruments of the same, and the archbishop of Canterbury's at the consistory, where, though the pope made forty French cardinals, yet our agent and his money made twelve English, and taught Francis to assume the power of disposing monasteries and benefices, as king Henry had done; advising him to inform his subjects clearly of his proceedings, and unite with the princes of the reformation, taking his parliament and people along with him, and by their advice cutting off the appeals *to* and revenues of Rome, by visitations, &c. with a *Præmunire*, together with the oath of supremacy, and the publication of the prohibited degrees of marriages: he added in his expresses, *That his Majesty should by disguised Envoys divide between the Princes and the Empire.*

The next sight we have had of him is in Scotland; the French king's passage to England, (as he calls it:) where in joint commission with the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Durham, he with his variety of instructions gained
time

time until the French king was embroyled at Hen. 8. home, the season of action was over there, and the duke of Norfolk ready to force that with a war, which could not be gained by treaty. Fortune is like the market, where many times if you can stay a little, the price will fall: the ripeness and unripeness of the occasion must be well weighed: watch the beginning of an action, and then speed! Two things make a compleat politician, secrecie in counsell, and celerity in execution.

But our knight's prudence was not a heavy wariness, or a dull caution, as appears by his preferment at court, where he is *Master of the Horse*; and his service in the north, where he and the *Comptroller* sir Anthony Gage are in the head of 10000 men: in both these places his excellence was more in chusing his officers and followers, than in acting himself: his servants were modest and sober, troubling him with nothing but his business, and expecting no higher conditions, than countenance, protection, and recommendation; and his retainers peaceable, reserved, close, plain, and hopeful: the deserving souldier and the promising were seen often at his gate, not in throngs, to avoid popularity: equal was his favour, that none might be insolent, and none discontented; yet so discreetly dispensed, as made the preferred faithful, and the expectants officious. To be ruled by one, is soft and obnoxious; by many, troublesome: to be advised by few, as he was, is safe: because (as he said in some things out of his element) *the Vale best discovereth the Hill.*

Hen. 8. Although he understood not the main matter of war, yet he knew many of its falls and incidents ; his prudence being as able to lay a stratagem, as others experience was to embattail an army. Sir Thomas Wharton warden of the marches he commands with 300 men behind an ambush, whither he draws the rash Scots, and overthroweth them more with the surprize than his power, taking the lord admiral Maxwell, &c. who was committed to his custody ; and putting that king to so deep a melancholy, that he died upon it. His death suggests new counsels, and sir Anthony watcheth in Scotland to gain his daughter for our prince, or at least to prevent the French, whom sir William Paget watcheth there, as sir Ralph Sadler did in Rome, and sir John Wallop at Calais : and when that king's design was discovered, we find our knight with Charles duke of Suffolk, lieutenant-general ; Henry Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, lord-general ; Will. Paulet, lord St. John, Stephen bishop of Winchester, with a rich and strong army, expecting one king before Montrevil, (which they took with Bologn) and forcing the French to a peace and submission that secured England, and settled Europe.

Three things facilitate all things : 1. Knowledge, 2. Temper, 3. Time. Knowledge our knight had either of his own or others, whom he commanded in whatever he went about, laying the ground of matters always down in writing, and debating them with his friends, before he declared himself in council. A temperance he had, that kept him out of the reach of others, and brought others within *his*. Time he took, always

always driving, never being driven by his business; which is rather a huddle, than a performance, when in haste: there was something that all admired, and which was more, something that all were pleased with, in this man's action. The times were dark, his carriage so too: the waves were boisterous, but he the solid rock, or the well-guided ship that could go with the tide. He mastered his own passion, and others too, and both by time and opportunity; therefore he died with that peace the state wanted, and with that universal repute the states-men of those troublesome times enjoyed not.

By king Henry's will he got a legacy of 300 l. for his former service; and the honour to be of prince EDWARD's special council for the future.

By his order he had, as his share of abbey-lands, Battle-Abbey in Suffex, enjoyed by his heirs male in a direct line to this day: and by his authority he had the honourable *Garter*.

He was the first man that durst bring his master the sad news, that he must die: and no wonder he durst do it, for the next news is, that he is dead himself. *How darest thou be so plain!* said *Heliogabalus* to the courtier: *Because I dare die*, said he: *I can but die, if I am Faithful; and I must die, though I Flatter.*

This gentleman's humour of crossing present proceedings, was prettily reprov'd by king Henry the eighth's little story of a poor woman drown'd by mischance, whose dead body, whilst her neighbours fought for down the river; her husband who knew her condition better than they

Hen. 8. they, advised them to seek up the river ; for all
her life long she loved to be contrary to all o-
thers, and he presumed she would swim against
the stream being dead.

The end of the observations upon the Lives of
the Statesmen and Favourites of England, in
the reign of king Henry the eighth.

T H E
S T A T E S - M E N
A N D
F A V O U R I T E S
O F
E N G L A N D,
I N


The Reign of King *Edward* the VI.

Observations on the Life of
E D W A R D VI.

TH E following character is given by Car-Rapin. dan, a famous Italian, who writ it, after the death of Edward, and in Italy, where this prince was deemed an heretic ; and when he could not expect any thing by flattering him.

“ All the graces were in him. He had many
“ tongues when he was yet but a child: together
“ with the English his natural tongue, he had
“ both Latin and French : nor was he ignorant,
“ as I hear, of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish,
“ and

Edw. 6.^c and perhaps some more. But for the English,
 “ French and Latin, he was exact in them ;
 “ and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ig-
 “ norant of logic, of the principles of natural
 “ philosophy, nor of musick. The sweetness
 “ of his temper was such as become a mortal,
 “ his gravity becoming the majesty of a king,
 “ and his disposition suitable to his high degree.
 “ In sum, that child was so bred, had such parts,
 “ was of such expectation, that he looked like
 “ a miracle of a man. These things are not
 “ spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but
 “ are indeed short of it. And afterwards he
 “ adds, he was a marvellous boy : when I was
 “ was with him, he was in the 15th year of his
 “ age, in which he spake Latin as politely and
 “ as promptly as I did : he asked me what was
 “ the subject of my books, *de rerum varietate*,
 “ which I had dedicated to him ? I answered,
 “ that in the first chapter I gave the true cause
 “ of comets, which had been long enquired
 “ into, but was never found out before. What
 “ is it, said he ? I said it was the concourse of
 “ the light of wandering stars. He answered
 “ how can that be, since the stars move in diffe-
 “ rent motions ? how comes it that the comets
 “ are not soon dissipated, or do not move after
 “ them according to their motions ? to this I
 “ answered, they do move after them, but much
 “ quicker than they, by reason of the different
 “ aspect, as we see in a chrystal, or when a rain-
 “ bow rebounds from the wall : for a little
 “ change makes a great difference of place.
 “ But the king said, how can that be, where
 “ there is no subject to receive that light, as the
 wall

“ wall is the subject for the rain-bow? to this I Edw. 6.
 “ answered, that this was in the milky-way, or 
 “ where many candles were lighted, the middle
 “ place where their shining met was white and
 “ clear. From this little taſt it may be imagined
 “ what he was. And indeed the ingenuity and
 “ ſweetneſs of his diſpoſition had raiſed in all
 “ good and learned men the greateſt expectation
 “ of him poſſible. He began to love the liberal
 “ arts before he knew them, and to know
 “ them before he could uſe them: and in him
 “ there was ſuch an attempt of nature, that not
 “ only England, but the world has reaſon to
 “ lament his being ſo early ſnatched away. How
 “ truly was it ſaid of ſuch extraordinary perſons,
 “ that their lives are ſhort, and ſeldom do they
 “ come to be old? he gave us an eſſay of virtue,
 “ though he did not live to give a pattern
 “ of it. When the gravity of a king was need-
 “ ful, he carried himſelf like an old man; and
 “ yet he was always affable and gentle, as be-
 “ came his age. He played on the lute: he
 “ meddled in affairs of ſtate: and for bounty, he
 “ did in that emulate his father; though he
 “ even, when he endeavoured to be too good,
 “ might appear to have been bad: but there
 “ was no ground of ſuſpecting any ſuch thing in
 “ the ſon, whoſe mind was cultivated by the
 “ ſtudy of philoſophy.”

It is ſaid, king Edward was in body beautiful, of a ſweet aſpect, and eſpecially in his eyes, which ſeemed to have a ſtarry livelineſs and luſtre in them. He kept a book, in which he writ the characters of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord-lieutenants, and juſtices of the

Edw. 6. the peace over England, marking down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the business of the mint, with the exchange and value of money. He also understood fortification, and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports in his dominions, as also in Scotland and France, with the depth of water, and way of coming into them. He had acquired so great a knowledge in foreign affairs, that the ambassadors who were sent into England published very extraordinary things of him, in all the courts of Europe. He took notes of almost every thing he heard, which he writ first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them, and afterwards copied out fair in the journal or diary that he kept. This journal, written with his own hand, is still preserved in sir John Cotton's famous library. In it the most considerable transactions in this reign are perhaps as well regulated (says Bishop Nicolson) by the young king himself, as by any other historian.

Observations on the Lives of the Seymours.

EDward Seymour and Thomas Seymour, both Sons of sir John Seymour of Wolfsl in Wiltshire. *I join them together, because whilst they were united in affection, they were invincible; but when divided, easily overthrown by their enemies.* Edward

EDward Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector and Treasurer of England, being the elder Brother, succeeded to a fair Paternal inheritance. He was a valiant Souldier for Land-service, fortunate, and generally beloved by martial men. He was of an open nature, free from jealousy and disssembling, affable to all people. He married Anne, daughter to sir Edward Stanhop, a Lady of a high mind, and baughty undaunted spirit.

THOMAS SEY-MOUR the Younger brother, was made **BARON** of Sudley; and, by Offices and the favours of his Nephew, King Edward the sixth, obtained a great Estate: He was well experienced in Sea-Affairs, and made Lord Admiral of England. He lay at a close posture, being of a reserved nature, and more cunning in his carriage. He married queen Katherine Parr, the Widow of King Henry 8.

Very great the Animosities betwixt their Wives; the Dutcheß refusing to bear the Queen's Train, and in effect justled with her for precedence: so that what betwixt the Train of the Queen, and long Gown of the Dutcheß, they raised so much dust at the Court, as at last put out the eyes of both, their Husbands, and occasioned their Executions.

Their sisters beauty commended them to the king's favours; (but a frail support that! which is as lasting only as a phancy, and only as certain as passion :) therefore their parts recommended them to his service. Affection shall lead me to court, but I'll take care that interest keeps me there.

Sir

Edw. 6. Sir Edward Seymour's temper suited with the king's inclinations, and his spirit with his times; ~~both~~ high, ~~both~~ stirring. In the throng of courtiers, there are but three steps to raise a man to observations: 1. Some peculiar sufficiency; 2. Some particular exploit; and, 3. An especial friend: this noble person shewed the first with advantage, in that draught of military discipline presented to Henry the eighth, wherein the embattelling is most remarkable, viz. *Twenty two compleat Companies make up four Squadrons; every Squadron of Pikes and Musquets being drawn up apart, the Pikes and Colours on the left hand, and the Musqueteers on the right. These Squadrons make up a Brigade, to be drawn up as followeth, viz. Ten Corporalships of Musqueteers being 34 Rots, divided into five Plattons, every Platoon being nine or so in front, led by a Major, and every division by a sufficient Commander. Next after these, Thirty six Rots of Pikes are to follow, (being twelve Corporalships) with their Colours following them, till they are drawn up even in front with the 32 Rots of Musqueteers: This makes the Right Wing of the Brigade. 2. The Battle of Pikes moveth forward in division, doing in all respects as the former, till they range even in front with the Pikes of the Right Wing: Then the other 32 Rots of Musqueteers belonging to the middle Squadron, (who are appointed to make the Battel of the Brigade) are led up as the first Musqueteers in all points, but at a reasonable distance behind the Pikes of their own Squadrons. Then the last Squadron of Pikes marcheth up, in all respects observing the same order, until they have attained to range in front even with other Pikes.*

This

This being done, the Battel or middle Squadron Edw. 6. of Pikes and Musquets advanceth in one body, until it's clear of the Wings. Lastly, the surplus of the three Squadrons being 48 Rots of Musqueteers, are drawn up behind the Brigades, where they are to attend the commands of their Officers, to guard the Baggage or Cannon, to be Convoys for Ammunition or Viſuals to the reſt, or continue a reſerve to wait upon all occaſions.

2. Eminent was his ability for this draught, more eminent for his performance agreeable to it in Britain; where he ſate before a town ſix weeks to no purpoſe, while it expected relief from Italy: but at laſt he inſinuates a jealousie between the pope and the French king touching that city that obſtructed all relief: he with as much ſpeed and policy ſets upon the two main ſconces for defence of the town, and took them both; battering the town and caſtle with that violence and noiſe, that they ſay it was heard 100 miles off. A train of powder is laid to blow them up when they ſhould enter; but this ſucceeded not: for the French in paſſing the ditch had ſo wetted their cloathſ, that dropping upon the train, the powder would not take fire: and ſo all things conſpiring to crown his valour with ſucceſs; he takes the caſtle firſt, and then dividing the town, and weakening it by ſeveral aſſaults at once, brought it to his own terms. Here his valour had been eminent, but that his conduct was more; and his conduct renowned, but that his nobleneſs towards the conquered, his civility and obligingneſs towards the ſouldiery, and his integrity towards all perſons, had out-done that.

There

Edw. 6. There are but two things that a subject can honestly oblige his prince in : 1. Keeping his subjects in peace at home, 2. Keeping his enemies under abroad : 1. Those soft, but prudent acts of peace ; 2. Those resolved, but well-managed wayes of war : sir Thomas wanted neither a resolution for the one, nor a temper for the other.

But sufficiency and merits are neglected things when not befriended : (Princes are too reserved to be taken with the first appearances of worth unless recommended by tryed judgments : it's fit as well as common, that they have their counsellours for persons as well as things :) his sister therefore was married on Whitsunday, and he is on the Tuesday following created viscount Beauchamp. But the next year his nephew is born ; the hope and stay of his majesty and his realmes, and he is made earl of Hertford.

King Henry understanding that the pope upon his own and cardinal Pool's account stirred up all the princes against him, as a provident prince, rode himself to the sea-coasts to see them fortified. Admiral Fitz-Williams is old, sir Thomas Seymour assists him to rigg the navy to be in readiness in six dayes time : sir Edward is master of the land-forces, and particularly the city of London, where were 15000 armed men ready, May 8, in St. Jameses, at which place the city seemed a camp, and the citizens men not of the gown, but of the *Armour*. Great this lord's *interest in*, and *respect with* the people ; as great his brother's with the sea-men : the multitude would leave all for their good lord of Hertford, and the sea-men would die with their noble lord Seymour. When the king of Scots had deluded king Henry

in

in his correspondencies with France beyond all Edw. 6. patience, and had been forborn beyond all safety or prudence, sir Edward Seymour is first sent to treat, and then to fight; which he did with so much success, that 300 of his men, and a stratagem, (to possess the Scots with an apprehension that the whole English army was upon them) took and killed 30000 Scots, had more prisoners than they could keep, more booty than they could dispose of; and adding this to their victory, that they broke the king's heart.

There was no end to be expected of a war with Scotland, but by marrying that king's daughter to our sovereign's son. This match was my lord Seymour's interest as well as the king's: his prudence and experience is therefore employed first to *perswade it*; and when that would not do, (so great and so cross the papal power there by cardinal Beton's means) his valour and resolution is sent with 10000 men to compel it: in order whereunto, *May 4*, landing at Granther-Gray, he marcheth in order towards Leith, which (after a defeat given the cardinal, the earls of Arran, Huntley, &c. by his harquebusiers) they entered, and thence proceeded to Edinburgh: my lord Dudley leading the front, our earl the battle, and the earl of Shrewsbury the reerward:) there the keys are offered them upon conditions; which they refusing, (and so making the enemy desperate, who resolveth rather to perish nobly, than to be undone by submission) the town holds out, and they are able to do no more, with some considerable loss, then burn the suburbs, wast the country to an utter desolation for seven miles compass,

Edw. 6. pass, demolish Leith, Dunbar, &c. take all their ships and ammunition, returning to Berwick with the loss only of 14 men.


Two things he was eminent for :

1. His advice, that not the least punctilio of the law should be neglected : whereupon the earl of Surrey and other nobility were imprisoned *for eating Flesh in Lent*. A secret and unobserved contempt of the law, is a close undermining of authority ; which must be either its self in indulging nothing, or be nothing in allowing all. Liberty knows no restraint, no limit, when winked at.

2. For his popularity, in advancing the Benevolence 52000 l. beyond expectation.

The Scots must have war as long as there is poverty in their country, and interest in France : this noble earl cutteth off the invaders, layeth waste the country, and (that the source of those troubles might be *dammed up*) entreteth France with 80000 men ; and after some skirmishes, brought the king thereof to a peace and submission.

In pursuance whereof, while king Henry was in Bologn, he made his will, wherein the earl of Hertford lord high chamberlain is appointed principal counsellour to his nephew : and not long after he dyeth, and leaves the kingdome to his son, and his son to his uncle, whom the common vote made protector, and interest a moderator of the council, which the time required able, but their humours made factions. The peace with king Francis and the emperor was but uncertain ; the Scots were irreconcilable, the pope implacable, religion unsettled, the clergy out of frame, the people distracted, and the nobility at variance. A great counsel-
lour

our king Henry leaves his son, and a greater his Edw. 6: uncle makes him, * “ In counfel is stability :  “ things will have their first or second agitation : “ if they be not tossed upon the arguments of “ counfel, they will be tossed upon the waves of “ fortune.” But yet this lord miscarried, in that the council understood him better than he did them : and he advised with them rather in publick, where men speak warily, and in compliance with others humour ; than in private, where they deliver themselves more freely, and agreeable to their own humours. (The rule is, *ask an inferiour man's advice in private that he may be free ; and a superiour's in publick, that he may be respectful.*) But he did well, 1. In that the same matter if weighed, was never propounded and resolved the same day. 2. In that he had fixed dayes of petitions, for the peoples and his own ease. 3. In that he poyzed his committees of contrary inclinations, that watched and balanced each other to a moderation most safe for the kingdome and himself. 4. That he had of all professions such at his command as opened the state of a business before any commissioners debated it. 5. That he seldome discovered his own inclination, lest it byassed his *Counfel*. 6. That to prevent a combination in the council, he weakened their power and priviledges, their credit, their dependencies, either by office or expectation, their opportunities and correspondencies, so that he could easily remove any when faulty, discover any when dangerous, disgrace any when bold, and not fit to be entrusted with the *Counsels, Resolves, Deliberations, and Necessities* of the state.

Edw. 6. In order to which, he had two useful resolutions.

1. To suppress calumnies, 2. To encourage accusations. His first acts were shew and pomp, (necessary for greatness, *viz.* the knighting of the king, and making himself duke. His next are *Realities* : as, 1. His modelling the country for a parliament, considering the temper of the people, and the pulse of the last parliament; redressing grievances, settling elections by such legal rules, as that the people should not be corrupted with money, overborn by importunity, transported by fear or favour to an unworthy or an unsuitable choice; and taking a just time to prepare the people for the designed settlement, by his grave and sober injunctions, by godly and good books of instructions, by a wholesome form of prayer, (composed at Windsor) by a more exact translation of the bible, by several proclamations for moderation and order on all hands, by inhibiting all preachers but such *learned, sober, grave, and discreet* men as were licensed thereunto under the lord protector's and my lord of Canterbury's hand.

2. His promoting the match with Scotland, first by ambassadours, and then by an army, whose order was this : *viz.* * The avant-guard of 3 or 4000 foot-men at arms, and 600 light-horse led by the earl of Warwick; the main battle of 6000 foot, and 600 men at arms, and 1000 light-horse, led by the protector; and the rear of half so many, led by the lord Dacres; the artillery of 16 pieces of ordnance making one wing, the men at arms and demilances the other. For the avant-guard and half of the battel riding
about

* The duke of Somerset's march.

about two flight-shot from their side, the other Edw. 6. half of the battel: and the whole flank of the rear was closed by the carriages, being 12000 carts and waggons; the rest of the men at arms and demilances marching behind. A few skirmishes and stratagems passed, when a trumpeter is sent by Huntley to challenge the protector; to whom the protector replying like a wise man, that *it was not for a person of his trust to duel it with a private man*; the earl of Warwick said, *Trumpeter, bring me word that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and I'll give thee 100 Crowns.* Nay, rather, said our duke, *bring me word that he will give us Battle, and I will give thee 1000 l.* But in 25 days he gains a greater * battle, over-runs the country with the loss of no more then 65 men, to that of 25000 Scots.

3. His third exploit was, dispensing † honours so nobly, that they were due encouragements to virtue; though yet so warily, that they should not be either a burden or a danger to the crown.

4. He gave the commonalty great content, in pulling down enclosures by proclamations; and the nobility no less, by setting up land-improvements by rule.

5. He engaged both, by a good bargain of church-lands, confirmed by this parliament.

6. He weakeneth the papists, 1. By conniving at them until they broke out to such outrages as made them lyable. 2. By dividing them when en-

O 3

gaged,

* The same day that 30 years ago they were beaten at Flodden.

† He made the first and last bannerets.

Edw. 6. gaged, with hope of mercy on the one hand,
 and fear of his army on the other.

7. The French taking the advantage of our seditious to break off their treaty, and proclaim a war, he confiscates their estates, and secures the persons of as many of them as lived in England.

But greatness is fatal; and his brother that should have supported this great man, ruins himself and him. He had married a lady * high in spirit; his brother the queen-dowager, higher in place: the ladies quarrel first, and then (as it must needs follow) the lords. Thomas the admiral is questioned for aiming at the crown, i. By marrying the lady Elizabeth, and then by seizing the king's person and the government: so honest this protector, (a plain man, and of no over-deep insight into practices) that he gave way to his tryal, saying, (though somewhat ominous as it happened) *I'll do and suffer Justice*: so uxorious, that he sealed his death. And now he stands alone, wanting his brother's cunning to reach Warwick, or his resolution to check Norfolk. The people are troubled at that one weak and unjustifiable act of his, the pulling down of so many of God's churches in the city, to build one Somerset-house in the Strand.

The earl takes notice of their discontent, and assembleth eighteen discontented counsellours, who arm themselves and their † followers, calling the city and the kingdom to their assistance by a proclamation. The protector fleeth with the king and a guard to Hampton-Court: the
 city

* The lady Stanhope.

† Whom they put in new liveries.

city sometimes resolved to assist the lords, out of Edw. 6. malice to the protector; sometimes to forbear out of such consideration of its many misfortunes in opposing kings, set forth not with more integrity by George Stadlow, then eloquence and life by John Ayliffe. They delay: sir Anthony Wingfield captain of the guard perswades the king of the lords moderation and loyalty; the duke is to answer for himself: the lawyers charge him with removing Westminster-Hall to Somerset-House, where he kept a court of request, and determined title of lands; the souldiers with the detaining of their pay, and betraying our French garrisons; the states-men with the engrossing of all authority. The earl of Warwick vigilantly but closely manageth all discontent to his designe with this great advantage, that he was subtle, close, and implacable; while the other was free-spirited, open-hearted, humble, hard to distrust, easie to forgive. His friend the lord Russel is absent: he is first tryed and acquitted, but with the loss of his protectorship, treasurer-ship, marshallship, and 2000 *l.* of land more.

But Warwick's designe for the crown ripening, and Somerset being the most eminent obstruction in his way, having weakened, before he ruins him, now he chargeth him with treason, to make a noise; and with *Felony*, to do execution: the council is packed, he looseth his life (for a small crime, and that on a * nice point, *subtilly devised and packed by his Enemies*) forgetting to ask the benefit of the clergy, that had saved it. This person, as one charactereth him, was religious himself, a lover of all such as were so, and a great

* For contriving the death of a privy-counsellour.

Edw. 6. great promoter of the reformation : valiant and
 { successful, generally beloved by souldiers, envied
 by states-men, though the most conscientious of
 them all ; doing nothing irregularly, but in
 compliance with the necessities of government ;
 open to dangers, as one that could not be jea-
 lous ; better to act, than designe ; to perform,
 than plot. When he was discharged of treason,
 there was so loud a shout in Westminster-Hall,
 as was heard to Long-Acre ; when condemned
 of felony, there was a silence and amazement for
 three hours. It is observed of some, that they
 have despised the benefit of their clergy while
 they lived ; and by a just providence of God,
 could not make use of it when they were to dye :
 it was pity that this noble person should forget
 to crave that benefit of the clergy, which might
 have saved him ; when he was so unwilling to
 enjoy any benefit of the clergy, which might in-
 commodate them. The controversie between him
 and the earl of Warwick is like that between
Demades and *Phocion* ; *Demades* threatned *Pho-*
cian, that the *Atbenians* would destroy him when
 they fell into their mad fits ; and thee *Demades*
 [said *Phocion*] when they return to their right
 minds : it appearing afterwards, that what he
 was charged to have design'd against others, he
 did only in his own defence, *cum moderamine.*
Inculpatæ cautelæ, in whose behalf *Cicero* had
 pleaded thus, *Si vita nostra in aliquas Insidias, si*
in vim, in tela aut latronum, aut inimicorum inci-
disset ; omnis honesta ratio esset expediendæ salutis ;
hoc & ratio doctis, & necessitas barbaris, & mos
gentibus, & feris natura ipsa præscripsit, ut om-
nem

ven semper vim quâcunque ope possint a corpore, a capite, a vitâ suâ propulsare-nituntur. Edw. 6.

Beheaded he was on Tower-Hill, with no less praise for his piety and patience, than pity and grief of the spectators. His death was attended with many signes and wonders, and his name with an indelible character, his house being called Somerset-house to this day, though solemnly proclaimed by king James Denmark-house, because inhabited by the king of Denmark and his sister. Surely (saith my author) *this Duke was well beloved, since his name made such indelible impression on his house, whereof he was not five years in possession.* Death hath this also, *That it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envy.* Philip asked Demetrius if he did not fear to loose his head? he answered, *No: for if he did, the Athenians would give him one immortal; he should be statued in the temple of eternal fame.*

Nil non Mortale tenemus,

Pestoris exceptis ingeniiq, bonis :

En ego, cum Patria caream vobisq, domoq ;

Raptoq ; sunt, adimi quæ potuere mibi,

Virtute attamen ipse mea comitorq, fruorq ;

Cæsar in hoc potuit juris habere nihil.

Quilibet hanc sævo vitam mibi, finiat ense,

Me tamen extincto fama perennis erit.

“ All that we bold will die,

“ But our brave Thoughts and Ingenuity :


“ Even I that want my Country, House and Friend,

“ From whom is ravished all that Fate can rend,

“ Possess yet my own Genius, and enjoy

“ That which is more than Cæsar can destroy.

“ Each

Edw. 6. " *Each Groom may kill me : but whensoever I die,*
 " *My Fame shall live to mate eternity.*

Brave men never die : worth begets in weak and base minds, envy ; in the magnanimous, emulation ; in posterity, renown : *A Renown, that is as the beams about the Sun, or the glory about an holy picture, that shews it to be a Saint, though it be no essential part : it riseth from the body of that Virtue, which cannot chuse but shine, and give a light through all the clouds of errour and distraction.* And though sometimes the mists and vapours of the lower earth impede the light it gives, yet there will be apparent rays, that shew there is desert unseen, which yeilds those gleams of brightness to the whole horizon, that it moves and shines in, which survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when the good man is dead and gone ; a good name being the embalming of the virtuous to an eternity of love and gratitude among posterity. *For my own Honour* (saith the royal martyr) *I am well assured, that as mine innocence is clear before God in point of any calumnies they object ; so my Reputation shall like the Sun (after Owls and Bats have had their freedom in the night) rise and recover its self to such a degree of splendour, as those feral birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear.*

Observations on the Lives of the Pars.

SIR William Par uncle and lord chamberlain **Lloyd.** to queen Katharine Par, was by king Henry the eighth created baron Par of Horton: he left two daughters onely, married into the families of Tressam and Lane. His relation called him to court, but his age forbid the pleasures, and his own reservedness the freedom of that place; before which he preferred the pious, peaceable, and hospitable way of the countrey, where popularity affected him, more than he affected it; no man being more beloved by the vulgar, no man less in love with them: it being his observation rather than his countrey-man sir Edward Mountague's saying, *That if you do the common sort of people nineteen courtesies together, yet you may loose their love, if you go but over the stile before them.*

His cousin sir William was brought by his sister to court, and advanced by his brother to honour; being for his majesties sake as well as his own, made lord Par of Kendal, earl of Essex by king Henry the eighth, and marquess of Northampton by king Edward: queen Mary deprived him of his estate and honour for siding with

* There was another of his name sheriff, nephew to this knight, in 25 of H. 8,

Edw. 6. with the lady Jane, and queen Elizabeth restored him to both, for favouring the protestant Religion.

His delight was musick and poetry, and his exercise war; being a happy compofure of the hardest and softest discipline, equally made for court and camp, for delight or honour: but his skill in the field answered not his industry, nor his success his skill: yet king Edward called him *His Honest Uncle*; and king Henry, *His Integrity*. The whole Family was made by a *Marriage*, but died *Issueless*.

The common rule of favourites is, to bring in all their relations about them, to adorn and support them: but this marquess would say, *A wall that hath a firm bottom, had need of no buttress; and that which wants it, is often rather thrust down than upheld by it*. The antiquaries crouch, as though they upheld the church, when they are upheld by it: clients are more a burden than a strength: and when the chief favourite dares not displease his sovereign because he is so near him, they dare, because he is between them and majesty. His followers were not gaudy, to render him suspicious; nor discontented, to breed ill blood, and a misunderstanding; nor too open, to discover him: but *deserving*, to honour him; and *hopeful*, to be advanced by him. Active men were recommended by him to king Henry's busie occasions, and virtuous to king Edward's pious inclinations.

In his last years he found that there was little love in the world, and least of all among equals; and that, that which was, is between superiour and inferiour, whose fortune may comprehend the
one

one the other. To ease his minde therefore, Edw. 6. to fatisfie his judgement, to observe his oversight, he adopted sir William Cholmley, bringing him first to his house, and then to his heart, to shew him that impartially, which he could not discern in himself. *There is no such Flatterer as a man's self ; and there is no such remedy against Flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a Friend : Counsel is of two sorts ; (to go on in my author's words) the one concerning manners, the other concerning business : for the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health, is the faithful admonition of a Friend : The calling of a man's self to a strict account, is a medicine sometime too piercing and corroding ; reading good Books of Morality is a little flat and dead ; observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case : but the best receipt (best I say to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a Friend. **

So much solid worth he had, that he had no use of ambition ; so much modesty, that he made little use of his worth : mean thoughts he entertained of himself, and as mean thoughts did he by his down-cast though grave look, his sparing though pertinent discourse, and his submissive though regardful carriage, suggest of himself. But a well-manag'd boldness is the virtue of monarchick courts, and a discreet submission that of a republican ; no advantageous admission into the one, without the first, nor safety in the other, without the second : here, if you are bold, you must look for an *Ostracism* ; there, if you are modest, for *Neglect* : yet a sober and moderate man may be in fashion once in an age.

The

* Lord Bacon's essayes.

Edw. 6. The souldier and the gentleman are the warlike princes darlings; church-men, the religious; physicians, the sickly and old; scholars, the learned; exchequerers, the poor, covetous, or prodigal; lawyers, the just; and they of a *Healing, Soft and Pliable Temper*, (king James his character and commendation of my lord Bacon) the fettleing and the peaceable, such as Edward the VI. in whose reign he was advanced, and queen Elizabeth, in whose reign he was restored.

It was in pursuance of king Henry's statute, that he closed with king Edward's will: for this *Clause* he produced for himself:

Provided, That if the Lady Mary do not keep nor perform such Conditions, which shall be limited and appointed, as aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth, for lack of Heirs from the King's Body, and the said Lord Prince, lawfully begotten, the said Imperial Crown, and other the Premisses, shall be, come and remain to such Person and Persons, and of such Estate and Estates as the King's Highness by his Letters Patents sealed under His Great Seal, or by His last Will in Writing, signed with His Hand, shall limit and appoint.

Isocrates was a man of an excellent wit, but finding himself destitute of countenance, gesture and confidence, he never durst speak in publick, contenting himself to teach, even to his decrepit days; and commonly saying, *He taught Rhetorique for a thousand Ryals, but would give more than ten thousand to him that would teach him confidence:*

This

This marquis brought up many a *Courtier*, Edw. 6. yet had not the face to be *One* himself, until queen Elizabeth, who balanced her council in point of religion in the beginning of her reign, as she did her court in point of interest throughout, threatened him to the council-board first, and then to her *Cabinet*; where none more secret, to keep counsel; none more faithful, to give it; and more modest, to submit. A sincere, plain, direct man; not crafty nor involved.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Cheek.

SIR John Cheek, born over against the Lloyd Market-Cross in Cambridge, became tutor to king Edward the sixth, and secretary of state: not so meanly descended as sir John Heyward pretends, (who writes him, *The Son of his own Deserts*) being a branch of the *Cheeks* of Moston in the isle of Wight, (where their estate was three hundred pound a year, three hundred years ago, and no more within this thirty years :) happy in his father, Mr. Peter Cheek, whose first tuition seasoned him; happier in his good * mother, (that grave matron) whose good † counsel and christian charge when he was going to court, settled him; and happiest of all in the place of his

* A Duffield.

† Recommending to him care of three things: 1. His God. 2. His Soul. 3. His Company.

Edw. 6. his birth, where he fell from his mother's womb
 ~~~~~ to the muses lap, and *learned* as soon as he *lived*,  
 being a scholar sooner than he was a man. A  
*German* had the care of his younger studies, and  
 a *Frenchman* of his carriage; his parts being too  
 large to be confined to the narrowness of English  
 rules, and too sprightly to attend the tediousness,  
 and creep by the compass of an English me-  
 thod. The same day was he and Mr. Ascham  
 admitted to St. John's, and the same week to  
 court, the one to the tuition of Edward the sixth,  
 the other of queen Elizabeth: there they were  
 both happy in their master doctor Metcalf, who  
 though he could not (as *Themistocles* said) *fiddle*,  
 yet he could make a little colledge a great one,  
 and breed scholars, though he was none: his ad-  
 vice deterred them from the rough learning of  
 the modern schoolmen, and their own genius led  
 them to the more polite studies of the antient  
 orators and historians; wherein they profited so  
 well, that the one was the copious orator, the  
 other the greek professor of that university.

A contest began now, between the introducers  
 of the new, and the defenders of the old pro-  
 nunciation of the greek: the former endeavour-  
 ing to give each letter, vowel and diphthong its  
 full sound: whilst doctor Caius and others of the  
 old stamp, cried out against his project, and the  
 promoters of it; taxing *It* for novelty, and  
*Them* for want of experience, and affirming greek  
 itself to be barbarous, so clownishly uttered;  
 and that neither France, Germany nor Italy  
 owned any such pronounciation. John Cheek and  
 Thomas Smith maintained that this was no inno-  
 vation, but the antient utterance of greek, most  
 clear,

clear, and most full. Chancellour Gardiner Edw. 6, then interposed against the pronunciation, and the authors of it: but custom hath since prevailed for the use of the one, and the due commendation of the other.

Sir John Cheek's authors were *Isocrates* and *Thucydides*; his auditors the youngest that came thither, for language; and the oldest that heard him, for his discourse and policy: the one preferred him to the ample provostship of *Kings*, the other to the great trust of Secretary of state: prince Edward studied not his book more sedulously, than he studied him, that his rules might comply with his inclination, and his lectures with his temper: lectures, that were rather discourses instilled to him majestically, as a prince; than lessons beaten into him pedantiquely, as a school-boy. The wise man would not be debasing his royal pupil's mind with the nauseated and low crumbs of a pedant, but ennobling it with the free and high maxims of a statesman; sugaring the more austere parts of learning with the pleasures of poetry, discourse, apologues; and so deceiving the royal youth to an improvement before his own years, and others comprehension. His very recreations were useful, and his *Series* of lighter exercises (for he observed a method in them too) a constant study; his table, his school; his meat, his discipline: the industrious tutor filling up each space of his time with its suitable instruction; it being his maxim, *That Time and Observation were the best Masters, and Exercise the best Tutor*. While others doated over their rules, his pupils practised them; no day passing without his letters to the

P

king,


Edw. 6. king, as that, \* *Literæ meæ unum semper habent Argumentum (Rex Nobilissime & Pater Illustrissime) hoc est, in omnibus Epistolis ago tibi gratias, &c.* or to the queen, as that, † *Quod non ad te jamdiu scriberem in causa fuit non negligentia, sed studium; non enim hoc feci ut nunquam omnino scriberem, sed accuratius scriberem, &c.* I have two Tutors, (said king Edward to Cardan) *Diligence and Moderation*, Sir John Cheek and Doctor Coxe. So exact an account he gave prince Edward of his father's kingdom, and its interest, that king Henry designed him for secretary, and king Edward made him one.

Three years he had that place; and in that three years did England more service, so great his parts, learning and religion! more kindness, such his eminency in both! and gave the people more satisfaction, such his integrity and dexterity! than all that went before him, and most that came after him. He was the first that brought in the use of a diary, and his pupil the next that practised it: his aphorism it was, that a dark and imperfect reflection upon affairs floating in the memory, was like words dispersed and insignificant; whereas a compleat view of them in a book, was like the same words pointed in a period, and made significant.


Much did the kingdom value him, but more the king: for being once desperately sick, the king carefully enquired of him every day; at last

\* One point always influences me when I write (most gracious sovereign and illustrious father.) Which is, that in all my letters I return you thanks, &c.

† My not writing sooner was not the effect of negligence, nor was this done with a design not to write at all, but to write more accurately.

last his phyfician told him there was no hope for Edw. 6. his life, being given over by him for a dead man :  No, faid the king, *he will not die at this time; for this morning I begged his life from God in my Prayers, and obtained it.* Which accordingly came to paſs ; and he ſoon after, againſt all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This (faith doctor Fuller) was attested by the old earl of Huntington, (bred up in his childhood with king Edward) to fir Thomas Cheeke, who *anno* 1654, was alive, and 80 years of age.

But though his prayers ſaved his tutor's life, none could ſave his ; who died with the proteſtant religion in his heart and arms : and fir John had died with him, but that being outed of all his preferments, he outed himſelf from the kingdom : loving to all the Engliſh exiles at Straſburgh, and well beloved all over Germany : until truſting to the ſtars too much, (would he had not either gone ſo high, or gone a little higher for advice) and his friends too little, he went to meet his dear wife in Brabant ; where neither my lord Paget's promiſe, nor fir John Maſon's pledges, nor abbot Fecknam's interceſſion, could excuſe him from being unhorſed and carted, impriſoned and tortured, vexed with all the arts of power, and perplexed, until his hard uſage meeting with ſome fair promiſes, brought him to a recantation that broke his heart ; and after much melancholick ſighing and ſilence, brought him to his grave ; the great example of parts and ingenuity, of frailty and infirmity, of repentance and piety. Forced he was to ſit with Bonner in his courts, but forced he would not be to

Edw. 6. joyn with him in his judgment : Look on he did,  
 but weep and groan too.

A good christian he was, witness his pious epistles ; an excellent states-man, as appears by his *True Subject to the Rebel* ; a book as seasonably republished (by doctor Langbaine of queen's colledge in Oxford) in the excellent king Charles his troubles, as it was at first written in the good king Edward's commotions.

*Vespasian* said of *Apollonius*, that *his Gate was open to all Philosophers, but his Heart to Him* : and sir John Check would say to father Latimer, *I have an Ear for other Divines, but I have an Heart for You.*

A country-man in Spain coming to an image enshrined, the extruction and first making whereof he could well remember, and not finding from the same that respectful usage which he expected, *You need not* (quoth he) *be so proud ; for we have known you from a Plum-Tree.* Sir John Check one day discoursing of the pope's threats, said, *He need not be so high ; for we have known him a Chaplain.* He took much delight in that saying of *Herod* the sophist, when he was pained with the gout in his hands and feet : *When I would eat,* (said he) *I have no hands ; when I would go I have no feet : but when I must be pained, I have both hands and feet.* Applying it thus : when we would serve God, we have no soul ; when we would serve our neighbours, we have no body : but when we suffer for neglecting both, we shall find we have both a body and a soul.

*Gustavus Adolphus* some three days before his death, said, *Our affairs answer our desires : but*  
*I doubt*

*I doubt God will punish me for the folly of my People, who attribute too much to me, and esteem me as it were their God; and therefore he will make them shortly know and see I am but a man: I submit to his will, and I know he will not leave this great Enterprize of mine imperfect.* Three things sir John Cheeke observed of Edward the sixth: 1. That the people's esteem of him would loose him. 2. That his reformation should be overthrown. 3. That yet it should recover, and be finished.

As to publick counsels: 1. Sir John was against the war with Scotland, which he said was rather to be united to England, than separated from it. 2. He was against king Edward's will, saying, *He would never distrust God so far in the preservation of his true Religion, as to disinberit Orphans, to keep up Protestantism.* 3. He laid a platform of a war with Spain. 4. He kept neuter in the court-factions. 5. Bishop Ridley, doctor Coxe, seconded; and sir John Cheeke contrived all king Edward's acts of charity.

## *Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Wentworth.*

"SIR Thomas Wentworth of Nettlesford in Suffolk, of a younger family, (confessed by the *Crescent* in his coat) descended from the Wentworths of Wentworth-wood-house in York-shire, and was created baron

Edw. 6. “ Wentworth by king Henry the viii. He was  
 “ a stout and valiant gentleman, a cordial pro-  
 “ testant, and his family a sanctuary of such  
 “ professors; John Bale comparing him to the  
 “ good centurion in the gospel, and gratefully  
 “ acknowledging him the cause of his conver-  
 “ sion from a *Carmelite*. The memory of this  
 “ good lord is much (but unjustly) blemished,  
 “ because Calis was lost the last of queen Mary  
 “ under his government: the manner was hud-  
 “ dled up in our chronicles, (least is best of bad  
 “ business) whereof this is the affect: the Eng-  
 “ lish being secure by reason of the last conquest  
 “ at St. Quintin, and the duke of Guise having  
 “ notice thereof, he sate down before the town  
 “ at the time (not when kings go forth to, but  
 “ return from battle) of mid-winter, even upon  
 “ *New-year's-day*. Next day he took the two  
 “ forts of Risebank and Newman-bridge,  
 “ (wherein the strength of the city consisted) but  
 “ whether they were undermined or overmo-  
 “ neyed, it is not decided, and the last left most  
 “ suspicious. Within three days the castle of  
 “ Calis, which commanded the city, and was  
 “ under the command of sir Ralph Chamber-  
 “ lain, was taken, the French wading through  
 “ the ditches, (made shallower by their artificial  
 “ cut) and then entring the town, were repulsed  
 “ back by sir Anthony Ager marshal of Calis,  
 “ the only man, saith Stow, who was killed in  
 “ the fight, (understand him, of note) others;  
 “ for the credit of the business, accounting four-  
 “ score lost in that service. The French re-  
 “ entring the city the next day, being *Twelfth-*  
 “ *day*, the lord Wentworth deputy thereof  
 “ made



“ made but vain resistance, which (alas) was Edw. 6.  
 “ like the wrigling of a worm’s tayl after the  
 “ head thereof is cut off; so that he was forced  
 “ to take what terms he could get, viz: that  
 “ the town’s-men should depart (though plun-  
 “ dered to a groat) with their lives, and himself  
 “ with 49 more, such as the duke of Guise  
 “ should chuse, should remain prisoners to be  
 “ put to ransome.


“ This was the best news brought to Paris,  
 “ and worst to London for many years before:  
 “ it not only abated the queen’s chear the rem-  
 “ nant of *Christmas*, but her mirth all the days  
 “ of her life. Yet might she thank her self for  
 “ loosing this key of France, because she hung  
 “ it by her side with so slender a string, there be-  
 “ ing but five hundred souldiers effectually in  
 “ the garrison; too few to manage such a piece  
 “ of importance. The lord Wentworth the se-  
 “ cond of June following, was solemnly con-  
 “ demned for treason, though unheard, as ab-  
 “ sent in France: which was not only against  
 “ christian charity, but *Roman* justice; *Festus*  
 “ confessing it was not fashionable among them  
 “ to deliver any man to die, before he which is  
 “ accused have the accusers face to face, and  
 “ have licence to answer for himself concerning  
 “ the crime laid against him. It was well for  
 “ this lord that he was detained in France till  
 “ his ransome was paid, and queen Mary dead,  
 “ who otherwise probably had lost his life, if he  
 “ had had his liberty. But queen Elizabeth com-  
 “ ing to the crown, he found the favour, or rather  
 “ had the justice to be tryed again, and was ac-  
 “ quitted by his peers; finding it no treachery,  
 coward-

Edw. 6. “ cowardise, or carelesness in him, but in fir  
 “ John Harlston, and fir Ralph Chamberlain,  
 “ the one governour of Risebank, the other of  
 “ Calais-castle: for which they were both con-  
 “ demned to die, though their judgment was  
 “ remitted: This lord was the only person I  
 “ have read of, who thus in a manner played  
 “ rubbers, when his head lay at stake; and  
 “ having lost the fore, recovered the after-game.  
 “ He died a very aged man, 1594. Thus far  
 “ Mr. Fuller.

Two ways a courtier advanceth himself: the first, that more leisurely, slow, though sure, of watching offices, preferments and dignities that may by steps bring them to the king's presence; the second, that more quick and short, but most *practised*, of following the court for such extraordinary commissions and particular services to the empire, as may (without the danger of delays that must be fatal amidst so many competitors) recommend him to his favour. It was below fir Thomas his estate to stoop to that first method; it suited more with his activity to embrace the second. Two usually-inconsistent qualities he had, the closeness of an agent, and the valour of a souldier. To Rome he was sent in disguise, and to Treport with an army: so graceful his carriage, so insinuating his affability; so clear and well-weighed his discourse, so searching and comprehensive his judgment; so gravely aiery, so majestically pleasant his countenance, so becoming his gate and apparel, so watchful his negotiations, so winning his addresses, so discreetly smart his reparties, (darting a suddain lustre and  
 vigour

vigour to the darkness and heaviness of his graver Edw. 6. discourses, neither common nor unfavoury, neither affected nor far-fetched, neither abusive of others, nor mis-becoming himself) so discreet and well-managed his complaisance, (with reference to circumstances, person, place, time, matter and cause) that he had cardinal Senhault's secretary, to bring him to the pope's closet; the emperour's agent Randolphus, to introduce him to court; that he won fryar Paul, to shew him the mysteries of the church; engineer Palvino, to represent the pope's cities, towns, fortifications, havens, harbours, antiquities, seminaries, exercises, ships, treasure, armories, arsenals, magazines, (having always by him a card of the territories) and the pope's bed-chamber-man, to shew him all the papers and transactions that concerned Henry the eighth. So well experienced his conduct, so well disciplined his army, so watchful and industrious his nature, so good his pay, (though he pawned, an once in Normandy, his own estate to satisfy his souldiers) so noble his rewards of valour and service, (it being his rule, that every man should enjoy as much as he could conquer) so prevalent his example, that he did more with 2000 men in three monthes, than the duke of Suffolk had done with 8000 in three years. The duncery and idleness of the monks in his time, (as he writes himself) made *Erasmus* a student: the sloth and carelessness of commanders in sir Thomas his time, made him a souldier.

Edward the third of England having sent to France to demand the crown by maternal right, the council there sent him word, *That the Crown*  
of

Edw. 6. of France was not tied to a Distaff. To which  he replied, That then he would tie it to his Sword. Sir Thomas Wentworth demanding Normandy in right of the dukes thereof, kings of England, was told, That Dukedomes were never given away in France by the Wills of the Dead: Nay then, replied he, we will have them against the Wills of the Living.

It's written of our Henry the fifth, that he had something of *Cæsar* in him, which *Alexander* the great had not, that he would not be *Drunk*; and something of *Alexander* the great, which *Cæsar* had not, that he would not be *Flattered*: Sir Thomas had both their virtues, none of their vices; *Non tam extra Vitia, quam cum summis Virtutibus*. Though he could not avoid misfortune, and prosper: yet he could yield to it, and retire: (that experienced file that could not withstand the enemies shot, could fall down and escape it.) Privacy at once secured and supported this unfortunate gentleman: it is much to know how to lead and bring on successfully; it's more to retreat, and come off handsomely, and give over a bad game.

Since he heard ill, I hear no more of him but this: one being designed an agent, waited upon this knowing and experienced lord for some directions for his conduct and carriage; he delivereth himself (saith my author) thus: To secure your self, and serve your Country, you must at all times, and upon all occasions, speak truth: for (as he added) you will never be believed; and by this means your truth will secure your self if you be questioned, and put those you deal with (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings.

Obser-

## Observations on the Life of Sir Clement Paston.

**S**IR Clement Paston was a souldier, and a souldier's son; valour running in the blood for three generations, and matured by noble and heroick actions for glory and success. Designed he was by his friends for the gown, but by his own nature for armour: born for action rather than contemplation. When his father asked him *what he would desire of him*, he desired a horse and a sword. He was tried in the king of France his service in Henry the seventh's time, for his overthrow in Henry the eighth's. He was the first that made the English navy terrible, and the last that made our army so: he took the admiral of France: and saved him of England: 30000 crowns he received by way of ranfome from the first, and 1000 l. by way of gratitude from the other: a cup he would shew that the first gave him every holy-day, and a ring of the second's every *Christmas*.

Two kings made use of his person, and two queens of his counfel, which he gave even on his death-bed. His advice was short, but resolute; his words few but pertinent: his discourse commanding, and souldier-like: his word, the decree of the *Medes*. King Henry the eighth called him *His Champion*: the protector, in Edward the sixth's time, *His Souldier*; queen Mary,

*Her*

Edw. 6. *Her Sea-Man*; and queen Elizabeth, *Her Father*. When Wyat was overthrown, he would deliver himself up to a gentleman, and therefore only to sir Clement Paston.

The two great interests of souldiers are pay and honour: he mortgaged his estate twice, to satisfy them for the one; and pawned his credit at court often, to encourage them for the other; getting his commanders always power and authority enough to do their master's business, but never enough to do their own.

There being always a contest between the poplacy and the souldiers, ("whom nothing reconciles, but downright force and necessity") it was death to his followers to be irregular, because one of their miscarriages exasperates a million, and distastes a kingdom; so necessary is a strict discipline in the camp, and an impartial justice in the countrey.

Outward occasions help fortune, a man's own temper makes it, when there be, as my lord Bacon writes, no stops or restiveness in a man's mind, but that the wheels of that keeps even with those of fortune. Sir Clement and Cato Major were both of a make, both having \* *tantum robur corporis & animi, ut, quocunque loco nati essent, fortunam sibi facturi viderentur.*

Obfer-

\* So great a strength of body and mind, that in what country soever they had been born, they would have made their own fortunes.

## *Observations on the Life of the Lord Rich.*

**H**E must needs be preferred, who was so Lloyd.  
richly descended and nobly allied, as to  
shew at court upon his first appearance sixty no-  
blemen and knights of his relation, and a hun-  
dred and fifty thousand pound a year revenue a-  
mong his friends. He was more beholden to  
the temple for his law, than to the universities  
for his learning. His severe and active nature  
aspiring above the pedantiqueness of a scholar,  
to the usefulness of a states-man: *I could never  
endure (saith he) those studies that furnish me only  
with unactive thoughts and useless discourse, that  
teach me only to think and speak.*

His staid and solid parts commended him to  
Cromwel, and Cromwel recommended him to  
king Henry the eighth: he was solicitor-general  
to his majesty, and steward to his master: Crom-  
wel was the *Mawl*, and Rich the *Hammer* of  
Abbeys: he laid open to the monks their faults,  
and his master made use of it to force them to  
a surrendry: for as he said, when those religious  
societies saw they had faults enough discovered to  
take away their lands, they had wit enough to  
give them up. His counsels overthrew popery,  
and his deposition cut off sir Thomas More: for  
being sent to sir Thomas, after much discourse  
with him, he asked him this subtle question,  
*Whe-*

Edw. 6. *Whether he would acknowledge the King Supream Head, if it were enjoined by an Act of Parliament?* fir Thomas asked him again, *If the Parliament enacted that God should not be Lord, whether he should consent to it?* and those words undid him. He saw that the protestant religion was the interest of England, as well as the doctrine of scripture; and therefore he carried it on in point of policy, as archbishop Cranmer did in point of conscience. King Henry the eighth admired his distinct reasoning, and stayed judgment: and queen Anne Bullen was taken with his graceful eloquence, and ingenious discourses: in the morning his plyant soul, that could answer all the turnings and windings of business, was as reserved and solid as that of a demure statesman; in the evening, as chearful and merry as that of a debonair courtier. He was the wisdom of the court in the presence, and its wit in the closet; its oracle there, and its pleasure here.

King Henry the eighth made him one of his legators, and king Edward the sixth one of his council: under him he carried on the protestant religion in point of conscience, which others managed in point of interest. He designed the degrees of the reformation, and he set out its method, than whom none more zealous in things necessary, none more moderate in things indifferent. Active he was, but wary; stirring, but cautious. To him the reformers resorted in point of law, as to Cranmer and Ridley in point of religion. Such his prudence, that the protector made him his friend; such his integrity, that the king made him chancellor: where his decrees were just, his dispatches quick, his judg-



judgments speedy, his sums of debates full and satisfactory, his sentences irreverfible; his assistants in the rolls, and other courts, able and honest. None more compliant to reason, none more stiff in things against reason: he would do any thing for king Edward the sixth's interest, nothing for duke Dudley's ambition; therefore he observing the course of affairs, would rather resign his place, than his integrity: when he could not with a safe conscience keep it, he with a contented mind parted with it; being honoured with the barony of Leeze, and enriched with the western abbies; it being the prudence of that time to interest the nobility in the papal revenues, that so they might be engaged against the authority.

R. Rich, lord chancellor, (saith my author) then living in Great St. Bartholomew's, though outwardly concurring with the rest, began now secretly to favour the duke of Somerset, and sent him a letter, therein acquainting him with all passages at the council-board, subscribing the same (either out of haste or familiarity) with no other direction save *To the Duke*; enjoining his servant, a new attendant, as newly entered into his family, safely to deliver it. The man made more haste than good speed; and his lord wondering at his quick return, demanded of him where the duke was when he delivered him the letter? *In the Charter-House*, (said the servant) *on the same token that he read it at the Window, and smiled thereat.* But the lord Rich smiled not at the relation, as fully sensible of the mistake, and delivery of the letter to the duke of Norfolk, no great

Edw. 6. great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the  
 ~~~~~ duke of Somerset.

Wonder not if this lord rose early up the next morning, who may be presumed not to have slept all night: * he higheth to the court; and having gotten admittance into the bed-chamber before the king was up, fell down on his knees, and desiring that his old age might be eased of his burthenfome office; pleading that there ought to be some preparatory intervals in states-men between their temporal business and their death: in order to which, he desired to retire to Essex, there to attend his own devotions. Nor would he rise from the ground till the king had granted his request. And thus he saved himself from being stripped by others, by first pulling off his own cloaths, who otherwise had lost his chancellor's place for revealing the secrets of the council-board.

There are few places so impregnable, but nature hath left in them some place or other by which they may be taken: none being armed at all points so well, but there is some way left whereby he may be surprized. He is the strongest that hath fewest accesses. He was a wise man that said, *Delay* hath undone many for the other world, *Hast* hath undone more for this, *Time* well managed saves all in both.

But there is a wheel in things, which undoeth all those that have not a wheel that answereth it in their souls; I mean a great capacity to comply and close with those grand vicissitudes that with small and unobserved circumstances turn round
 the

* This story is related from the mouth of his grandchild the earl of Warwick, that last was,

the world, which this great man was master of, Edw. 6. who had his eye upon the turns, flexures and points of things and business, and his state and interest ready to correspond: he knew when to proceed, when to make a stand, and when to retire. It's said of grandees, *That they are the first that find their own Grievs, and the last that find their Faults.* Our lord was quick in both, and hath taught us this, *That certainly Men of great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business have no time to tend the welfare either of Body or Soul; and that they must with-draw from this World, before they retire into another: For, Illi mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.*

There are no more remarques of this noble personage, than that he was the father of this apophthegme, *Well done, if warily*; and great-grandfather to the present earl of Warwick.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Mason.

HE had his birth at Abingdon, and his education at Oxford: his birth commending him to *All-Souls*, and his breeding to the court: his study was like his inclination, rather active than contemplative, his present thoughts foreseeing and providing for his future employments. But industry and parts may pre-
Q
pare

Edw. 6. pare a man, it is opportunity and occasion that
 must advance him; and never had a man a
 fairer opportunity, never made a man better use
 of it.

None but Mr. Mason would the university
 pitch upon, to compliment Henry the eighth;
 none but Mr. Mason could please him, although
 he was as great a *Scholar* as he was a *King*, and
 as much an humorist as both: as he was inclined,
 so he studied; as he studied, so he writ; not
 with a pedant's impertinence, but a states-man's
 prudence: so elegant was his latine, that a cri-
 tick would have advanced him professor; so va-
 rious his learning, that Cranmer would have
 prefer'd him prebend; and yet so grave and
 wise the matter and composure of his speech,
 that the king designed him a states-man.

When king Henry the eighth came to Oxford,
 sir John is deputed to congratulate his coming:
 who considering that a man cannot every day
 speak to kings, contrived (saith my author) the
 matter of his speech most man-like, politick and
 pertinent, the phrase of it polite and majestick;
 so that what with his comely presence, his be-
 coming carriage, his flowing expression, his
 graceful elocution, he gained that applause from
 the court and university, that the one was as
 eager to have him, as the other was loth to part
 with him: the university was proud of him, but
 king Henry commanded him, and disposeth of
 him in forein parts, to add practical experience
 to his speculative studies: it was the excellent
 way of that time, to pick out the choice youths
 of both universities, and maintain them some
 years

years abroad, to make such observations as Edw. 6. might render them serviceable at home.

Dwelt with books he had long enough, now he must converse with men, and open his recluse and retired soul, to a practicable and social temper, by debonairness and freedom, too long mewed up with study and melancholy: think and speak he could very well already, now he must learn to act and live: books furnished, travel must enlarge and settle his soul.

Four things made a states-man in those days.

1. The university and good letters.
2. The city and converse.
3. The court and freedom of spirit.
4. Travel and observation.

It was the politick Discipline of those days to select (saith mine author) the pregnancies of either University, and breed them in Forein parts for publick Employments. Agreeable whereunto, Mr. Mason is sent beyond sea with instructions to guide him, and a pension to support him: with order,

1. To keep exact correspondence with the secretary at home.

2. To entertain, 1. The most eminent scholar, who might represent the church: 2. The ripest under-secretary, who might decipher to him the state: 3. The ablest souldier and sea-man, that might open to him the interest of both nations.

3. To take an exact account of the havens, forts, cities, avenues, passages, ways, treasure and interest of the place he lives in.

4. To follow the respective embassadors directions in every court.

Edw. 6. 5. To appear in each place upon any solemnity, civil or military, suitable to the occasion, all charges to be defrayed from the English exchequer.

His pension was two hundred and twenty pounds a year; his circuit was France, the Netherlands and Italy; his commission was to engage any knowing person of those respective courts, that could transcribe their edicts or orders, give exact intelligence, make any interest, or had any influence upon their respective governments: his rules were,

1. To correspond with his majesties agents.
2. To have few and choice acquaintance.
3. To make collections of, and observations upon the histories, the laws, customs, and the most considerable states-men, governours, and great men, with their relations and dependencies in those courts.
4. To give a monethly account of such remarques as occurred, at large to the secretary, and in brief to the king and cardinal.

His first undertaking was in France, where his gravity was too severe, beyond the dalliances of that place. His next was to Italy, where he shewed as great a reach in countermining, as the inhabitants of that place do in managing their plots: *None designs (saith the character) further off than the Italian: None seeth (saith sir Thomas Audley) further off than sir John Mason.* His last voyage was to Spain, where he out-grav'd the *Don* himself, and then returned with the Italians *quickness*, the Spaniards *staidness*, the Frenchman's *Ayr*, the German's *Resolution*, and the Dutchman's *Industry*: qualities that demonstrated


strated he understood other countreys, and could Edw. 6. serve his own.

There this pregnant gentleman being at some distance, could look more inwardly into the constitution, situation, interest, state and complexion of his own Country; and being near, could discern those of other parts with the mutual aspect of England upon them, and theirs upon it. They that lived in those times say that none understood the affairs of England and France, together with their mutual advantages or disadvantages, better than sir John Mason.

He that had seen the mysteries of four courts, might be trusted with those of one, as he was in king Henry the eighth's time, in the capacity of a privy counsellour; and in Edward the sixth's, in the trust of chief secretary. At the board, none clearer in his proposals; in his office, none quicker for dispatch: *Let me hear Sir John Mason*, said the king; *Let us to sir John Mason*, said the subjects: so much the reputation of his prudent integrity with the one, and of his familiar access with the other!

Four things he said kept him in, under all the revolutions, during the four princes reigns whom he served:

1. That he thought few things would save a man.
2. That he was always intimate with the exactest lawyer, and ablest favourite.
3. That he spake little, and writ less.
4. That he had attained to something which each party esteemed serviceable to them, and was so moderate, that all thought him their own.

Edw. 6. When a compleat man, he was called home,  to be first clerk of the council, a place of great trust; secondly, secretary of State, a place of great employment; thirdly, master of the requests, an office of great dispatch and business; and fourthly, treasurer of the household, an employment of constant care.

No age wanted an able man more, no age had one more willing to secure the universities, than that which chose him to be chancellor of Oxford, at the same time that his prince made him treasurer of the household. Sacrilege it self then gaping after the University-lands, durst not tempt so honest a man, nor perswade so great a scholar, nor fright so resolute a statesman to betray or yield up those ancient encouragements of learning and virtue. Loth was Oxford to part with him when a scholar, glad to entertain him a states-man, with a power to protect her, well tempered with obligations to love her; he who is now the *Father* being lately the *Son*; maintained by a part of it, as he now maintained the whole. That was a scrambling time, when it was *catch who catch can*. I find not any particular favour conferred, or benefaction bestowed by him in person on the university; but this great good he did, that his greatness kept others from doing any harm. Many hungry courtiers had hopes to catch fish, (and fish it would be, whatever came into their nets) on this turning of the tide, and alteration of religion: how casie was it for covetousness in those times to quarrel the college-lands into superstition! sacrilege stood ready to knock at their gates; and alas! 'twas past their porter's power to forbid


bid it entrance, had not sir John Mason vigorously opposed it, and assisted the university on all occasions.

He inciteth them to the study of the tongues; because * *sensum alicujus rei non potest ille assequi, qui rudis est Idiomatis quo traditur*: and directed the reading of *Aristotle, Agricola, Melancthon, &c.* instead of *Scotus, Burleus, Bricot*: calling for all their charters, donations, statutes, pope's bulls, with an exact rental of their lands, and inventory of their goods, which were restored entire and safe.

The university, that could not enjoy his presence, craves his protection; and foreseeing in the fall of abbeys, their danger, especially when foundations erected for superstition were given by statute to the king, chose sir John Mason their chancellor, who was at once a favourite of power and of learning; the greatest lay-statesman that was a scholar, and the greatest scholar that was a lay-statesman: he was not contented to secure, but he must improve Oxford, gaining it new privileges, when it feared the loss of its old ones.

A grave and reserved man he was, who understood the intrigues and motions of those dark and uncertain times, and his nimble and present prudence could accommodate them. His maxim was, *Do, and say nothing*: commending the active and close man, whose performances were as private, coherent, continued and sudden as his counsels; who would not spend that time in advising, that would serve for executing: many
were

* He cannot attain to the sense of any thing, who is ignorant of the language in which it is treated of.

Edw. 6. were his pensions to scholars at home, more to  agents abroad that assisted either his studies or employments, whom he designed an honour to his middle, and a support to his old age. He had a peculiar way of satisfying suiters by plain dealing and dispatch : he would divide all suits either into matter of equity, or a suit of controversy ; or into matter of desert, or a suit of petition : in the first he had his referendaries, to see the matter compounded between both parties, rather than carried by either : in the second, he preferred all suitably to their abilities. No man understood better the nature of court-places than he, and none saw further into court-persons.

Two things, he said, always promoted a matter :

1. Secresie : (boasting, which is the way of some courtiers, though it discourageth some competitors, yet it awakeneth others.)

2. Timing of it, with an eye to those about us.

He would advise a man to begin with a little and mean suit : for though (as my lord Bacon observes) *iniquum petas & æquum feras*, is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour ; yet otherwise a man had better rise in his suit : for he that would have ventured at first to have lost his *Suitor*, will not in the conclusion lose both the *Suitor* and his own former favour.

It's from him, while he lived, that we learned celerity is the best secresie ; prudence and resolution is the only fortune ; converse is the great education ; boldness a man's surest success ; good nature is the eminent nobility ; and a well-weighed honesty the only favourite.

It's

It's by him, when he died, we are taught that Edw. 6. moderation out-lasts violence; modesty ambition, a publick spirit a private one: that to act alone may be as profitable as honourable, but to joyn with others most safe: that to study the nature of a prince, may for the present advance; but to understand the interest of his kingdom, is always secure: the one way being as uncertain as the frail person it depends upon, the other as sure as the lasting state it serves.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Stamford.

SIR William Stamford was of Staffordian ex-Lloyd. traction; Robert his grand-father living at Rowley in that county; but William his father was a merchant in London, and purchased lands at Hadley in Middlesex, where sir William was born, August 22, 1509. He was bred to the study of our municipal laws; attaining so much eminence therein, that he was preferred one of the judges of the common pleas. His most learned book of *The Pleas of the Crown*, hath made him for ever famous amongst men of his own profession. There is a spirit of retraction of one to his native county, which made him purchase lands, and his son settle himself in Staffordshire. This worthy judge died Aug. 28, and was buried at Hadley in this shire, in the last year of the reign of queen Mary, 1558.

Edw. 6. King James had a judge that would give no money, and king Henry had one that would take none. “ There have been those lawyers that
 “ turned the point of law upon the law itself ;
 “ that wounded the eagle with a feather from
 “ his own wing, and stabbed the person of prin-
 “ ces with their authority ; that dethroned kings
 “ with a moot-point, and overthrewed a go-
 “ vernment at a reading.” This judge understood, that as the law is the security of the people, so prerogative is the strength of the law ; and that that is the best temper of government where kings have so much power to do evil, that they may be able to do good.

Miserable experience hath taught us, that since power hath been wrested from princes, that neither they nor their people can be safe, if both be not in such a way as the law hath entrusted the publick safety and welfare ; which consists in a full power belonging to the king, to secure liberties, preserve property, and protect their people in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those laws to which themselves have consented. He sets himself good rules, as well to create good presidents, as to follow them ; reducing things to their first institution, and observing wherein and how they have degenerated : yet still taking counsel of both times : of the ancients time, what is best ; and of the latter, what is fittest. He made his course regular, that men might know what to expect ; but not peremptory, that knaves might not know how to impose upon him : always expressing himself well, when he digressed from his rule. Preserve the right of his place he would,

would, but not stir questions of jurisdictions; Edw. 6. rather assuming his right in silence, and *de facto*, then voice it with claims and challenges. He directed in most affairs, but was busie in none: none readier to give, none readier to take helps and advices. His speech was more discreet than eloquent; rather particularly suitable to the present things and persons, than generally orderly and artificial. He could speak quick and deep too, never using many circumstances, lest he were tedious; ever some, lest he were blunt: so warily did he deliver what he knew, that he was sometimes thought to know what he did not. He knew what *might* be said, so good his fancy; and he knew what *should* be thought, so great his judgment: commanding the discourse where-ever he was, by that prudence that could bring it on and off; and that variety that happily intermingled arguments with tales, reasons with opinions, and earnest with jest. His decrees were the hedges of propriety, his dispatches cool, his cases rightly stated; his reports favour of integrity and prudence, of books and men. How discreetly would he moderate the rigorous circumstances of petty and pænal laws! how exactly observe the design and drift of the more fundamental and reasonable! Here no intrigues to perplex, no attendance to tire, no hazards to discourage, no checks or delays to vex, no surreptitious advantages to surprize; no defeats of hopes, or falseness of friends to disappoint; no negligence of agents, or interest of parties to betray; no oratory or sophism to varnish or hide a matter: all things clear as justice, and smooth as integrity.

By

Edw. 6. By diligence and moderation, with their gentle degrees and augmentations, and his own watchful observance he climbed to excellency. A man is neither good, nor rich, nor wise at once; it being a double work to be great: 1. To remove obstruction, and accommodate adversaries: 2. To watch and assume the advantage. What is longest in proving, is longest declining: the rose that buds one day, withereth the next: the oak that is an age a growing, is five standing. He had those lower virtues that drew praise from the vulgar, which he neglected, (knowing that they were more taken with appearances than realities) he had middle that they admired, and good men observed; he had his highest virtues, which they perceived, and great men honoured: In a word, a fragrant fume he had, that filled all round about, and would not easily away. Although he despised the flatterers praise, as base; and avoided the cunnings, as dangerous; yet he would say of a deserved fame, that being nothing, or but ayre at best, it doth all: for it's sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance.

He observed of himself, that he came very hardly to little riches, and very easily to great riches: for when a man's stock is come to that, as my lord Verulam observes, that he can expect the prime of the markets, and overcome those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partners in the industries of younger men, he cannot but mainly increase with those two advancers of gain, 1. diligence; and 2. a good name.

He

He hath left these two principles behind him Edw. 6. for those of his own profession.

1. That they should reduce every statute to the common law and custome whereon it is grounded.

2. That they should as well look into the history of former times for the reasons and circumstances of our laws, as into their law-books for the matter of them.

Some lawyers assert the subjects liberty, and retrench the prerogative (as too much power to be trusted for a mortal man) within the known limits of law, that so subjects may be at a certainty how to square their loyalty and obedience. He always upheld that prerogative, saying, *That the discretion of the sceptre as guardian for the general good of the common-wealth, must be trusted against all emergencies, with the management of its own might* : concluding always thus ; *submission is our duty, and confidence our prudence*. Bishop Bancroft of Oxford said in king Charles the first his time, * *Eo tempore occubui quo malle[m] episcopatus rationem coram Deo dare, quam Episcopatum coram hominibus exercere*. Judge Stamford said in queen Mary's time, † *In quæ reservamur tempora ! det Deus ut magistratus rationem coram eo reddam potius quam magistratum coram hominibus exerceam*.

His book containeth two parts ; one of *the pleas of the crown*, the other of *the king's prerogative*.

* I fell in that time, at which I chose rather to render an account of my office before God, than exercise the office of bishop before men.

† To what times are we reserved ! God grant, that I may render a faithful account of my office before him, rather than exercise it before men.

Edw. 6. *gative.* In him (saith Mr. Fulbeck) there is force and weight, and no common kind of stile; in matter very few have gone beyond him, in method none have overtaken him: in the order of his writing he is smooth, yet sharp; pleasant, yet grave: and surely his method may be a law to the writers that succeed him. Heavy saith he is the weight of innocent blood, consider we either the inward fears attending the guilt of it; or the outward providence of God watching for the discovery of it; one that was before him, having apprehended a fishes head in the platter, for the head of him whom he had murdered; and another, after a horrid murther, being observed to have his hand continually upon his dagger.---

Observations on the Life of Sir John Jeffrey.

Lloyd. Sir John Jeffery was born in Suffex, where he left behind him a fair estate to his daughter. He so profited in the study of our municipal law, that he was preferred secondary judge of the common pleas, and thence advanced by queen Elizabeth, in Michaelmas-term, the nineteenth of her reign, to be lord chief baron of the exchequer: which place he discharged for the term of two years, to his great commendation. He left one daughter and heir, married to sir Edward Montague, (since baron of Boughton) by whom he

he had but one daughter, Elizabeth, married to Edw. 6. Robert Barty, earl of Lindsey, mother to the truly honourable Montague earl of Lindsey, and lord great chamberlain of England. This worthy judge died in the 21. of queen Elizabeth.

This was he who was called the Plodding Student, whose industry perfected nature, and was perfected by experience. He read not to argue only; for that is vanity: nor to believe and trust; for that is easiness; nor to discourse; for that is idle: but to weigh and consider; for that is prudence. He had his studies for pleasure and privacy, for ornament and converse, and for judgment and business. To spend too much time on his book, was sloth; to talk by book, was affected; and to act by it, was humourfome and scholar-like.

Four things he would say helped him.

1. His inclination: (*It's a great happiness to a man (saith Aristotle) when his calling is one of the τὰ ὀικεῖα τῇ φύσει, of those things that agree with his nature.*)

2. Method.

3. Religion, with that just and composed mind that attends it.

4. A great happiness in all the four faculties that make a lawyer: 1. A sharp invention, and clear apprehension to search all the circumstances of a case propounded. 2. Judgment to examine and weigh the particulars invented and apprehended: for truth lieth in things as gold in mines. 3. Memory to retain what is judged and examined. 4. A prompt and ready delivery of what is conceived and retained, set out with ingenuity

Edw. 6. nimity and gravity. * *Oratio prompta non audax.*

What he said was close and pinching, and not confident and earnest; allowing passion not to *disturb* either the method or delivery of his discourse, but to quicken it. To speak well and much, he said, was not the work of one man: yet if a philosopher be eloquent, said Cicero, we must not despise him; if he be not, he must not affect it, so that he can comprehend in words what he conceiveth, and speak them plainly, that he may be understood. His Latine and French were grammatical, his rhetorick natural, his logic reason: the first, opened the terms; the second, pressed the vigour; the last, collected and disposed of the axiomes, grounds, and rules of the law, and all prepared him for that comprehensive profession, in the ashes whereof the sparks of all other sciences were raked up.

His gesture and habit was grave, but not affected: speaking as much to the eye, as his tongue did to the ear: (the gesture being a great discoverer of the constitution, and a great direction to business: what a man misseth in the speech, he may sometimes find in the looks.) His temper was moderate and sober; a virtue, and a seasoning of all others, attended with the lawyers gift, and that is patience. Modest he was, but not fondly bashful; his prudence and not his softness. His humility begat affableness; his affableness, society; that, conference; conference, parts, and they acquaintance; and that, practice; and practice, experience; experience, renown; and that, preferment.

Sir

* A pointed not an insolent speech.

Sir John's inclination was studious; his mind, Edw. 6. constant, solid, and settled, and able to dive into the whirl-pools of that intricate and perplexed faculty; his thoughts being *orderly*, and his conceptions *methodical*: his search comprehensive, avoiding epitomes, as the banes of learning.

* *Nullus illi per otium dies exit, partem noctium studiis vindicat; non vacat somno, sed succumbit, & oculos vigilia fatigatos cadentesq; in opera detinet.*

Considerable were the parts he had, but more so the making up of those he had not: his covering of his defects being of no less importance than the valuing of good parts, which he did three ways:

1. By caution, ingeniously and discreetly waving and putting off things improper.

2. By colour, making his Defects his virtues, and his faults his endowments. And,

3. By that freedom of spirit that daunts the weakest, and prevaileth with the wisest.

He proposed to himself five things to enquire into, in order to that compleatness he arrived unto:

1. The ancient maxims and principles, or the more ancient customs that make up the common law of England.


2. The acts and constitutions that make up its statute-law.

3. The particular privileges, liberties, immunities and usages of counties, burroughs, cities, &c. that do swerve from this law.

R

4. The

* No day was spent in idleness, and part of the nights in study: if he slept, it was only to refresh nature, wearied out with continual toils and watchings.

Edw. 6. 4. The ancient grounds and reasons (as far as  history can direct) of all these : our law being an exact reason.

5. The most satisfactory explanations of the law : 1. From Commentaries, as Bractons : 2. abridgments, as Stathams : 3. History, as the years and terms of the common law : And 4. from more particular tracts, that handled their peculiar subjects, as Fortescue, Glanvil, Britton, Fleta, Littleton, which he thought not unprofitable to read, though dangerous to rely upon : (with the lord Cooke, not liking those that stuff their mindes with wandering and masterless reports : for, as he said, they shall find them too soon to lead them to error :) beginning with the terms of art, and then to the matter ; perusing what is antiquated, and observing what is suitable to the present constitution and complexion. It's my lord Cook's rule, " That for the most
 " part the latter judgments and resolutions are
 " the surest, and therefore fittest to season a
 " man withal in the beginning ; both for setting
 " his judgment, and retaining them in memory ;
 " yet as he goeth on, out of the old fields must
 " spring and grow the new corn."

Our lawyers course was slow and leisurely, his reading digested and deliberate : his considerations wary, and distrust his way to knowledge. He that begins with certainties, ends in doubts : and he that begins with doubts, ends in certainties, and looketh into the bottom of things.

Upon serious and solid books he bestowed a double reading ; the one cursorily, by way of preparation ; and the other exact, by way of digestion.

Three things made him a pleader :

1.

1. Reading.
2. Observation.
3. Exercise.

And indeed, in ancient times, the serjeants and apprentices of law did draw their own pleadings, which made them good pleaders. *

He observed the affections, the intent, the analogy, the validity of the law, putting all his reading to writing; having the places he was most to handle in all the variety that could be, with his rules and maximes, as far as reading, hearing, meditation, conference and memory could help him.

Thus his first thoughts were upon his profession, until that advanced him to the highest eminence; and his last upon his interest, until that was improved to as much fortune as lieth in a well-laid estate and alliance.

* Vid. Cok. in Littl. Prefat.

*The end of the Observations upon the Lives of the
Statesmen and Favourites of England, in the
Reign of King Edward the Sixth.*

T H E
S T A T E S - M E N
A N D
F A V O U R I T E S
O F
E N G L A N D,
I N

The Reign of Queen MARY.

Observations on the Life of
Queen M A R Y.

Rapin.

THE excessive bigotry of queen Mary is evident from the history of her reign. To this she joined a temper cruel and vindictive, which she endeavoured to confound with zeal for religion. But when it was not possible to unite them, she plainly shewed, she was inclined to cruelty, as well by nature as zeal. She had the misfortune to be encouraged in this disposition by all who approached her. King Philip was naturally morose. Gardiner was one of the most revengeful men living. Bonner was a fury; and the other bishops were chosen from amongst the
most

most cruel and barbarous of the clergy. This Q. Mary was the quality by which alone a man was thought worthy of the episcopal dignity. The persecution therefore against the protestants in this reign, has nothing which ought to seem strange. Dr. Burnet says, Mary had a generous disposition of mind. It were to be wished, he had given us some passages of her life, where this generosity appeared. For my part (says Rapin) I find but one action to approve in her whole reign. This was her rejecting the Spanish ambassador's project, to make herself absolute at the expence of the laws and liberties of the nation: She discovered no great capacity in the government of her dominions; and the loss of Calais, though there was not something more odious, would be an everlasting blot upon her reign.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Cordel.

SIR William Cordel, where ever he was born, Lloyd, had a fair estate at Long-Melford in Suffolk, and lieth buried in that fair church, under a decent monument: we will translate his epitaph, which will perfectly acquaint us with the great offices he had, and good offices he did to posterity.

*Hic Gulielmus habet requiem, Cordellix avito,
Stemmata qui clarus, clarior ingenio:*

Q. Mary *Hic Studiis primos consumpsit fortiter annos,
 Max & causarum strenuus actor erat.
 Tanta illi doctrina inerat, facundia tanta
 Ut Parlamento publica lingua foret :
 Postea factus Eques, Reginae arcana Mariae
 Consilia, & Patriae grande subibat opus.
 Factus & est Custos Rotulorum ; urgente senectâ,
 In Christo moriens cepit ad astra viam.
 Pauperibus largus victum vestemque ministrans,
 Insuper Hospitii condidit ille domum.*

*“ Here William Cordel doth in rest remain ;
 “ Great by his Birth, but greater by his Brain :
 “ Plying his studies hard, his youth throughout,
 “ Of Causes he became a Pleader stout,
 “ His Learning deep such Eloquence did vent,
 “ He was chose Speaker to the Parliament :
 “ Afterwards Knight Queen Mary did him make,
 “ And Counsellour, State-Work to undertake ;
 “ And Master of the Rolls : well worn with Age,
 “ Dying in Christ, Heaven was his utmost Stage.
 “ Diet and Clothes to poor he gave at large,
 “ And a fair Alms-House founded on his charge.*

He was made master of the rolls November the fifth, in the fifth of queen Mary, continuing therein till the day of his death, the 23d of queen Elizabeth. Eight weeks and upwards passed between the proclaiming of queen Mary, and the first parliament by her assembled ; during which time, two religions were together set on foot, protestantism and popery ; the former hoping to be continued, the latter labouring to be restored : and as the Jews children after the captivity spake a middle language, betwixt Hebrew

brew and Ashdod; so during the foresaid inter-^{Q. Mary}rim, the churches and chappels in England had a mixt celebration of their divine service between reformation and superstition: the same day there was a mass sung for Edward the sixth's soul in the tower, and the English service for his burial in Westminster. No small justling was there between the zealous promoters of these contrary persuasions: the protestants had the law on their side, and the papists the prerogative: these the queen's opinion, the other her promise. Besides, seeing by the fidelity of the Suffolk and Norfolk protestant gentry, the queen was much advantaged for the recovery of her right*; they conceived it but reason, that as she by them regained the crown, so they under her should enjoy their consciences: thus it is in the evening twilight, wherein light and darkness at first may seem very equally matched, but the latter in a little time may wholly prevail. The catholick canvass for the next parliament, upon the queen's credit and authority: the reformed, upon the nation's inclination.

The body of the kingdom meets, and chuseth our knight for speaker, whose temper was a representative of the parliament, as that is of the kingdom: a temper made up of an equal mixture of loyalty and piety, that could at once stand to their religion, and submit to their sovereign; *Render to Cæsar what was Cæsar's, and to God, what was God's*: long did he expect that the queen would comply with the parliament, and as long did she stay for their compliance with her: unite they could not unanimously among

* Fuller Eccles. Hist. B. 8. Cent. 15.

Q. Mary mong themselves, dissolved they are therefore
 peaceably by her.

But Cordel was too popular to be neglected, and too honest to be corrupted : useful parts will finde preferment, even when the dissenting judgement findes not favour. The speaker of the unhappily *bealing* parliament was made master of the rolls in queen Maries days, and of a more happily *bealing* one was made so in Charles the second's reign : the one was of that primitive faith that was before the modern names of *Papists* and *Protestants* ; the other of a moderation that was elder than the new heats of disciplinarians and anti-disciplinarians.

The miscarriages of authority are chiefly six :

1. Delay.
2. Faction.
3. Roughness.
4. Corruption.
5. Ambition. --- And
6. Private Designs.

No delay hindred : where set times of hearing were observed, access was easie, the order and method of business uninterrupted. No corruption, where there durst be no suspicion of it ; infomuch as that it was heinous to offer a bribe to him, as to take it in another. Here was severity that awed men to a discontent, but no austerity that sowed them to discontent ; all was smooth and grave, pleasing and becoming, yet nothing easie or soft ; it being worse to yield to importunities that are dayly, than to be bought with money, which comes but seldom.

Vertue in ambition is violent, but in authority, as here, it was calm and settled. He sided
 with

with no faction in his rise, but balanced himself Q. Mary
 by all : he had no design when he lived, but to }
 be spent in the publick service ; and none when
 he dyed, but to spend himself in publick charity,
 a charity that is at once the continued blessing
 and grace of that worshipful family. Cato Ma-
 jor would say, *That wise men learn more of fools,*
than fools do of wise men : and king Charles the
 first would say, *That it was wisdom in fools to jest*
with wise men, but madness for wise men to jest
with fools : and sir William Cordel bequeathed
 us this observation, *There is no man that talks,*
but I may gain by him ; and none that holds his
tongue, but I may lose by him.

Observations on the Life of Sir Anthony Cooke.

SIR Anthony Cooke, great grandchilde to sir Lloyd.
 Thomas Cooke lord mayor of London, was
 born at Giddy-Hall in Essex, where he finished
 a fair house begun by his great grandfather, as
 appeareth by this inscription on the frontispiece
 thereof :

• *Ædibus his frontem Proavus Thomas dedit olim,
 Addidit Antoni cætera sera manus.*

He was one of the governours to king Ed-
 ward the sixth when prince, and is charactered
 by

• Thomas the great grandfather raised the front,
 Anthony long after finished the building.

Q. Mary by Mr. Cambden, * *Vir Antiqua serenitate*:
 He observeth himself also to be happy in his daughters, † learned above their sex in greek and latine : namely,

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---|--------|
| 1. Mildred | } married unto | William Cecil, lord treasurer of England. | } Kts. |
| 2. Anne | | Nicholas Bacon, L. chancellor of England. | |
| 3. Katherine | | Henry Killigrew, | |
| 4. Elizabeth | | Thomas Hobby, | |
| 5. | | Ralph Rowlet, | |

Sir Anthony Cooke dyed in the year of our lord 1576, leaving a fair estate unto his son, in whose name it continued till our time. Gravity was the ballast of his soul, and general learning its leading. In him met the three things that set up a family.

1. An estate honestly gotten in the city.

2. An education well managed in the university. And,

3. Honour well bestowed at court.

Yet he was some-body in every art, and eminent in all the whole circle of arts lodging in his soul. His latine, fluent and proper ; his greek, critical and exact ; his philology, and observations upon each of these languages, deep, curious, various and pertinent : his logick, rational ; his history and experience, general ; his rhetorick and poetry, copious and genuine ; his mathe-

matics,

* A man of primitive equanimity.

† Cambd. Eliz. anno 1576.

maticks, practicable and useful. Knowing that Q. Mary
souls were equal, and that women are as capable
of learning as men, he instilled that to his
daughters at night, which he had taught the
prince in the day; being resolved to have sons
by education, for fear he should have none by
birth; and lest he wanted an heir of his body,
he made five of his mind, for whom he had at
once a *Gavel-kind* of affection, and of estate.

His childrens maintenance was always according to their quality, and their employment according to their disposition; neither allowing them to live above their fortunes, nor forcing them against their natures. It is the happiness of foreigners, that their vocations are suited to their natures, and that their education seconds their inclination; and both by ass and ground do wonders. It's the unhappiness of Englishmen, that they are bred rather according to their estates, than their temper; and great parts have been lost, while their calling drew one away, and their genius another; and they sadly say, *Multum incolæ fuere animæ nostræ, we have dwelt from home.* Force makes nature more violent in the return; Doctrine and discourse may make it less importune; custom may hide or suppress it, nothing can extinguish it: nature even in the softer sex runs either to weeds or herbs: careful was this good father therefore, seasonably to water the one, and destroy the other. Much was done by his grave rules, more by his graver life, that map of precepts. Precepts teach, but examples draw. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia,* was Cato's maxime. Three things there are before whom (was sir Anthony's saying) I cannot do

- The greatest regard is to be had to children.

Q. Mary do amifs. 1. My prince. 2. My conscience.
 3. My children. Seneca told his fiftcr, *That though he could not leave her a great portion, he would leave her a good pattern.* Sir Anthony would write to his daughter Mildred, *My example is your inheritance, and my life is your portion.* His first care was to embue their tender souls with a knowing, ferious and sober religion, which went with them to their graves. His next business was to inure their younger years to submission, modesty and obedience; and to let their instructions grow with their years. Their book and pen was their recreation; the musick and dancing school, the court and city, their accomplishment; the needle in the closet, and house-wifery in the hall and kitchings their business. They were reprovcd, but with reason that convinced and checked, that wrought as well an ingenious shame, as an unfeigned sorrow, and a dutiful fear. Fondness never loved his children, and passion never chastised them; but all was managed with that prudence and discretion, that my lord Seymour standing by one day when this gentleman chid his son, said, *Some men govern Families with more skill than others do Kingdoms;* and thereupon commended him to the government of his nephew Edward the sixth. Such the majestie of his looks and gate, that awe governed; such the reason and sweetness, that love obliged all his family: a family equally afraid to displease so good a head, and to offend so great. In their marriage they were guided by his reason, more than his will; and rather *directed* by his counsel, than *led* by his authority. They were their own portion: parts, beauty and breeding bestow them.

themselves. His care was, that his daughters *Q. Mary*, might have compleat *Men*, and that their husbands might be happy in compleat *Women*: never promising, yet always paying a great dowry. Their spirit and business kept them from that weak passion of love that embaseth mankind; their noble converse improved that friendly love that perfecteth it; and their marriage compleated that nuptial love that makes it. He said first, and his grandchilde my lord Bacon after him, that *the Joys of Parents are Secrets, and so are their griefs and fears*. Children sweeten labours, but they imbitter misfortunes: they increase the care of life, and mitigate the remembrance of death. Very providently did he secure his eternity, by leaving the image of his nature in his children, and of his mind in his pupil. The recreations he indulged were moderate, lawful, sober, becoming, useful, and seasonable: the expences he allowed, not so illiberal as to acquaint them with shifts, make them fort with mean company, nor surfeit when they came to plenty; nor yet so prodigal, but that they were taught how to live in the world. The books he advised were not *many*, but *choice*: the business he pressed was not reading, but digesting. The king of Sweden's men were but six deep; and sir Anthony's exercises were not thick, but methodical and armed; the diet he prescribed moderate: in apparel he allowed for necessity, for decency, and in some cases for magnificence, provided that it were neither too costly, nor too vain: neither above the purse, nor beyond the calling, nor besides the estate.

Sir

Q. Mary Sir Anthony took more pleasure to breed up statef-men, than to be one. Contemplation was his soul, privacy his life, and discourse his element. Business was his purgatory, and publickness his torment: yet so serviceable was he in Edward the sixth's time, that he was in exile in queen Maries. What though he and others were useful and peaceable in the commonwealth? What though they were found in the faith, and cordially embracing the doctrine of the catholick church? What though those in this condition were many, and such as in whose peace and industry the welfare of the whole nation was exceedingly concerned? What if they offered to be instructed by any who would take that work upon them, in the things about which their differences are? What if they plead conscience towards God, and that alone in their dissent, it being evidently against their whole temporal interest? What if they have given evidence of their readiness in the ways of Christ and the Gospel, to oppose even error that seemed pernicious to the souls of men, or of an evil aspect to publick peace and tranquility? all is one, they are upon some odd jealousies of future events to be forborn, neither joyntly nor severally, no one nor all of them in a case that concerns the interest of a predominant party, though the hands of a thousand be by those means taken off from labour, their stocks from employment, their minds from contrivances of industry in their own concerns, the revenues of those under whom they live decayed; in all which the common good hath no small interest, fulness and plenty in the mean time diverting the thoughts of such who might remedy

dy these things, before the stock of the nation is Q. Mary wasted, and the affairs of it intangled beyond remedy, from taking notice of them, or keeping off any impression on their minds and judgments, from what is represented concerning them; tho' men should look well to the ground of their actings, in things wherein they proceed against the common consent of mankind, expressed in all instances of the like occasion, that have occurred in the world; which is as great an evidence of the light and law of nature, as any can be obtained: for what all men generally consent in, is from the common nature of all, who have by a common experience found, that the inward power of religion always prevailed upon the world, and its greatest opposition, more than any outward force: and men do not consider aright, what a secret influence into the enervating of politick societies, such intrenchments upon the principles of the light of nature will assuredly have: for those things which spring up in the minds of men without arguing or consideration from without, will insensibly prevail in them against all law and constitution to the contrary, force them from the prevalent influence of a particular interest to the contrary,—* *Pessimus diuturnitatis Custos*.——will not always prevail, nor ever at any time, without great regret and commotion in the minds of men, who have no concern in that interest, but act unavoidably according to that principle which sooner or later will perform its work; which is to make a judgment of a man's self and his actions, with reference to the future judgment of God, which men must

* The worst protector for a continuance.

Q. Mary must be suffered to do (notwithstanding the abuse of that pretence of conscience by brain-sick or enthusiastick persons in their paroxisms, which is to take no place in consideration of what becomes a guidance of the actions of mankind one towards another) in things belonging properly to its cognizance; unless, which all that have exercised any reflect acts upon themselves, and know that neither they nor others can; and that God himself (who procures the assent of men onely by conviction and evidence to what he revealeth) will not force men's minds.

A wicked design it is of putting out God's great vice-gerent out of his place and throne, and to act not in a pious way of imitating the holiness, wisdom, and clemency of God, in an ambitious way of usurping his Sovereignty, who yet enjoyneth not the belief of any thing he proposeth as an object of faith; nor obedience in any thing which he commandeth, as matter of duty, till he hath given, what no man can, sufficient evidence of reason for the one; and warrantry of authority for the other; for religion is a matter of choice, and he that chooseth not his religion has none. Alledge, that any sort of men may act otherwise, and impose upon men practices, without reference to the judgment of God, is to suppose that he hath set up an authority against himself; provided that the pretences of conscience, shroud not any practices that may interfere with the common light of nature or reason of mankind, the fundamental articles of Christian religion, moral honesty, civil society, and publick tranquility, the church and commonwealth standing on the same bottom, and their interest being of the same

same breadth and length, and to be mutually Q. Mary
narrowed or widened by each other, like Hippo-
crates his twins, not only being born and dying,
but laughing and crying together, as equally af-
fected with their mutual concerns. I mean, those
most fixed and considerable: otherwise to build
the unchangeable interest of a nation, which
should be obnoxious to nothing, but the over-
ruling Providence of the most high, much less
to the impressions of various opinions, which will
always be in the world, upon laws mutable and
changeable, according to men's experience of
their use or inconvenience: and though various
state of things, is a thing of so evil an aspect
toward the solid foundation of the polity of that
nation, in shaking its settlement in the minds of
men, and as things may happen, narrowing its
interest unto a scantling unproportionate unto its
superstructure, as undoubtedly, those who are
principally concerned that the kingdom should
not be a floating Delos, are obliged not to admit
an avowance of it, being dangerous, and scarce
consistent with the prudence that should steer the
peace of the world, to bring any one of the nu-
merous and disputable apprehensions, that will
be likely to the end of the world among men, to
be the constitution of a government, as to its
civil interest, to which otherwise all men of all
persons profess they are born, and indispensably
engaged to an obedience to and observance of,
as exposing that (an awful reverence whereof
groweth up with all men, their temporal concerns
being wrapped up in it, so far as to free it) to all
the uncertain events of religious controversies,
especially when the principles owned by the go-
vernment

Q. *M*any government, and suited to the interest of a few men, are so far from being diffused among a people, that the greatest part of them must unavoidably, and will resolutely dissent from them, who otherwise acquiesce in the *civil government*; and abating those opinions of not great concernment, as to the substance of religion, or the peace of the nation, are willing to their utmost endeavours to the welfare thereof, which is hoped consisteth not in the impossibility of a precise determination of the differences in the minds and consciences, of men, who are generally confirmed in their own persuasions, and into a further alienation from the things they are compelled to by compulsion and penalties; and who if brought to an outward conformity, without inward persuasion, without which rigour hath little influence on the minds of men, will not be wanting to any opportunity offered, to ease themselves of a condition, which being contrary to their strong inclination, they will cast off, as we have known thousands do, as their insupportable burthen. Experience hath baffled the attempt of rigour and imposition, without reason and inward satisfaction, it never succeeding any where to extinguish the persuasions and opinions it was designed to extirpate, which returned in a short space to make it manifest, that violence hath only laid in provisions for future troubles, oppositions and animosities, by ruining some, provoking many, obstructing trade, by discouraging and hindring men to exercise their faculties or stocks, enforcing few to an hypocritical compliance, compassion stirred up in all who after the subsiding of the impetuous impressions of provocations, abhor severity about small opinions

nions, so deeply rooted in the minds of men for a long time with great success and advantages against men, come up to a resolution to suffer, as appears every day by what they suffer, and forget the utmost of their earthly concerns, than live and dye in an open rebellion to the commanding light of God in their consciences; and think it strange, that noble disposition, thoughts, counsel and care in uniting men by indulgence to loyalty and gratitude (which can be united to nothing else, save an unanimous discontent under the impositions they may undergo) should be all sacrificed to the interest or prejudices of any one party of men whatsoever, upon pretence of that tranquility and peace, to which there is not a greater enemy, than the fears and restlessness of oppressed multitudes; nor a better friend, than the satisfaction and contentedness of all men, having no fears when indulged, but of the disturbance of the government, which hath by its condescensions, secured to them all their principal interests in the world, and made it unlikely that if they have any conscience, which their great sufferings give evidence of, or reason, they will joyn with any sort of men to trouble that state of things wherein they have that liberty, which they have been taught to value, by their miserable condition under the want of it: a way of obliging, real, sensible and effectual to many thousands, without the least semblance of disadvantage to any one man: yea, attended with assurance of peace to all, upon the admission of counsels impartially tending to the good of all, uninfluenced by a mixture of fears and jealousies, against which former settlements were established;

Q. Mary contrary to that experience, and those second thoughts, which a new consideration of things may suggest unto them, to alter their resolutions in compliance with the alteration of affairs, always provided it be in subordination to the great establishment, which may be secured by the truth and order settled in it, the abilities and worth of it, the publick favour of authority, the persons maintaining it, the legal privileges, and encouragements promoting it; the supposed inconsiderableness of the persons opposing it, and the things for which they do it, the great inconveniency, disadvantage and charge of carrying on the dissenting, though indulged ways if it have any foundation in the consciences or minds of men, and stand not onely, which is a secret not to be published, on the props of law and power: it being (whatsoever some may imagine, who have scarce a better argument of the truth of their own religion, than their inclination to suppress those of the contrary) so far from being an evidence of truth in any, that they are ready to destroy those who are otherwise minded, that it is a sign of error and superstition, which being conscious of its own weakness, is generally heightened to more or less cruelty and revenge, according as men by them are steeped in folly and blindness,

*In mortale odium, & nunquam sanabile bellum
Ardet adhuc Ombus & Tentyra summus utrinq;
Inde furor vulgo quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterq, locus——*

*Ombus and Tentyra neigh'bring towns, of late
Broke into outrage of deep fester'd hate.
A grudge in both, time out of mind, begun
And mutually bequeath'd from fire to son.*

*Dryden's Translation of Juvenal, Sat. 15.
and*

and what was the ground and occasion of the quarrel? Q. Mary

—*Crocodilon adorat*

Q. Mary


Pars hæc, ille pavet saturam Serpentibus ibin.

One sect, devotion to Nile's serpent pays;

Others to Ibis that on serpents preys.

Dryden's Translation of Juvenal, Sat. 15.

All other nations, as France, Holland, Poland, the Palatine, Brandenburg, Hastingia, some parts of Denmark, the Empire, and most of the free cities of it, indulging their numerous and divided dissenters, upon their sustaining all offices and burthens in the commonwealth equal with the others, with a freedom from ecclesiastical courts, censures, offices, and all penalties for their dissent, and an allowance for the worship of God in their own assembly, provided by themselves, and known to the magistrates under whose jurisdiction they are; tho' considering the temper of the people of this nation, the impression of the principles of dissent, in multitudes; the resolution that their spirits are raised to; the value they put upon their consciences, and liberty of it, there is no people under Heaven to whom forbearance would be more welcome, useful, acceptable, or more subservient to tranquility, trade, wealth and peace. An exile, whose exemplary resolution supported religion, whose obliging authority maintained peace, and whose inexhaustible charity provided for the poor at Zurick and Frankford. A Suffex (and not a Kentish) Knight, having spent a great estate at court, and brought himself to one park, and a fine house in it, was yet ambitious to entertain not the queen, but her brother at it, and to that purpose had new painted his gates with a

Q. Mary coat of arms, and a motto overwritten, thus,
 * O I A V A N I T A S, in great golden letters; sir Anthony Cooke (and not his son Cecil) offering to read it, desired to know of the gentleman what he meant by O I A? who told him, it stood for *omnia*. Sir Anthony replied, *Sir, I wonder having made your omnia so little as you have, you notwithstanding make your vanitas so large.* King Edward would say to his tutors, that Randolph the German spake honestly, sir John Cheek talked merrily, Dr. Coxe solidly, and sir Anthony Cooke weighingly; a faculty that was derived with his blood to his grandchild Bacon, which informs the world of this great truth, that education doth much towards parts; industry more; converse, encouragement and exercise, more yet; but a sound temper and nature, an wholesome blood and spirit, derived from healthful and well constitutioned parents, doth all.

Observations on the Life of Sir David Brooke.

Lloyd.

DAVID Brooke knight, born at Glassenbury, son to John Brooke, esq; who was serjeant at law to king Henry the eighth. Our David was also bred in the study of our laws, and in the first of queen Mary was made chief baron of the exchequer: but whether dying in, or quitting the place in the first of queen Elizabeth, I am not informed. He married Katherine daughter of John lord Chandois, but dyed without issue.

A Lawyer,

* All is vanity.

A lawyer, and a lawyer's son! yet one whose Q. Mary
 zeal for the religion of that time advanced, rather
 than his law; to serve rather his prince's interest,
 than his court? that being the happy, shall I say?
 or unhappy time, when the sovereign and the
 state did often consult the judges, and the judges
 more often consult with the sovereign and
 state. Yet although a particular respect raised
 a general fair carriage kept him up; he obser-
 ved not onely things, but times; not onely times
 but persons: therefore when old pænal laws came
 before him, he confined them in the execution,
 that that which was made for *terror*, should not
 be for *rigour*; and the instrument of government
 should not be the snare of the people. When
 informers of that court were too busie, he
 checked them; when violent prosecution, cun-
 ning advantages, combinations, power, or great
 counsel balanced an honest cause, he set all things
even. His invention was good to improve his
 mistresses revenue, his conscience was as tender
 to diminish it. Queen Mary was ready of her
 own inclination, but readier upon sir David
 Brooke's motion, to part with the church profits.
 Patient and grave he was in hearing, sparing and
 weighty in speaking: none would direct an evi-
 dence more orderly, none moderated the length
 or impertinency of pleaders more discreetly: none
 would recapitulate, select, collate the material
 points of what had been said, more exactly; none
 gave judgment more satisfactorily, always
 commending a good lawyer that miscarried; a
 good way to uphold in the client the reputation
 of his counsel, and beat down in him the con-
 ceit of his cause. He dyed with some projects in
 his

Q. Mary his breast for the revenue, and some for the law ; whereof one was a composition for the purveyances, and another a regulation of the wards : both at that time thought, ill regulated, as unprofitable for the crown, as they seemed to be burthensome to the subject. He had a close way of discovering concealments, as he had a severe one of punishing frauds. His word was, *one law executed, is worth twenty made.* None more austere in case of others wrong, none more mild in that of his own ; and he would say, *What is done, is done.* Weak men concern themselves, in what is past ; while the wise take care of what is present and to come. *If a man wrongeth me once, God forgive him (saith the Italian :) if he wrongeth me the second time God forgive me.* Others may be even with their enemies in revenge, he would be above them in forgiveness. An enemy, I say, though otherwise to a perfidious and unworthy friend, he was much of Cosmus duke of Florence his temper, who said, *you shall read that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends.*

Many have inveighed against usury, none have done more against it than this knight ; who if he had lived, was resolved to reduce it to these rules.

1. That it should be declared unlawful.
2. Being declared so, if any practised it (as men must do, or traffick will fall) that there should be a penalty upon the usurer, which might amount to an excise or custom that would arise from that money, if employed in merchandize.

3. That

3. That yet if any exacted above five in the Q. Mary hundred, they should lose the principal. A rate that on the one hand would keep up the necessary commerce of lending and borrowing among the old and the idle, and yet direct men to that more *necessary* of buying and improving land, and other commodities that are more industrious and ingenious.

4. That none yet presume this, but in some principal places of merchandizing: for then (as my lord Bacon hath projected it) they will hardly be able to colour other mens money in the country: for no man will lend his money far off, or put it into unknown hands.

Or, lastly, that there be no money lent out upon terms but to the state, which may make its advantage of it.

Indeed, considering on the one hand that usury decayeth the king's custom, bringeth money to few hands, damps industry and invention, beats down the price of the land, and by eating up private estates, breeds a publick poverty: it were to be wished it were forbidden. And on the other, that borrowers trade most; that, no usury, no young merchants; that, without usury men must sell their estates at under-rates, more sad than usury; that, no borrowing, no living; no usury, no borrowing: it were wished it were regulated, so that the inconveniencies of it were avoided, and the advantages retained, and extortion be checked, as traffick is encouraged.

Thus he that hath no private care, advanceth the publick good, and the childless man is most thoughtful for posterity: certainly the best works
and

Q. Mary and of greatest merit for the publick, have proceeded from the unmarried, or the childless man; who both in affection and means have married and endowed the publick: he that hath wife and children, hath given hostages to fortune: for they are impediments either to vertue or mischief.

A fat man in Rome riding always upon a very lean horse, being asked the reason thereof, answered, *That he fed himself, but he trusted others to feed his Horse.* Our judge being asked what was the best way to thrive; said, *Never do any thing by another, that you can do by your self.*

Observations on the Life of Doctor Thomas Wilson.

Lloyd.

THOMAS WILSON, born in Lincolnshire, was doctor of laws, bred fellow of Kings Colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards was tutor in the same university to Henry and Charles Brandon, successively dukes of Suffolk. Under queen Elizabeth he was made master of the hospital of S. Katherines nigh the tower of London. At last he became secretary of state to the queen for four years together. He dyed anno 15.—To whose various and yet deep knowledge, not of the surface of arts and sciences for shews, but of inside and ground of them for use, not onely apprehending the frame, but perceiving the power and importanee of them, there

there is no character that ever I read, so agree- Q. Mary
 able as that which the most eloquent Cicero gave {
 the most learned Varro, *Tu etatem patriæ, tu
 descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum jura, tu sacer-
 dotum, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum,
 locorum, tu omnium divinarum, humanarumq; re-
 rum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti; plu-
 rimumq; Poetis luminis attulisti, elegans poema fe-
 cisti, Philosophiamq; multis locis inchoasti.* An
 argument of a great capacity in a man of his
 great place, and greater employment; whose
 candour was yet equal with his parts, ingeniously
 passing by the particular infirmities of those
 who contributed any thing to the advancement
 of a general learning; judging it fitter that men
 of abilities should joyntly engage against igno-
 rance and barbarism, than severally clash with
 one another; giving this advice to all men con-
 cerned in publick writings, that they might avoid
 both censure from others, and trouble to them-
 selves, * *temperanter rem gero*: and this he recom-
 mended, not only to scholars in general, but to
 some peculiarly discreet persons in particular;
 knowing that that which toucheth all, usually
 reacheth none: admonishing likewise his friends,
 to use no words, but such as had some corres-
 pondent things, and to take care that their con-
 ceptions should answer their expressions; there
 having been of late in the world, a way of learn-
 ing that overthrew knowledge, consisting of opi-
 nions remote from mens cogitations, which men
 spake, but thought not, thinking they had in-
 vented new things, when they found out new
 words. The reason why his writings excelled
 so much in the worth and use of the subject; in
 the

* I do business leisurely.

Q. *Mary* the exactness of the method, in the ingenuity of the design, and in the temper of the writer, who discoursed not, but demonstrated, framing first the disordered minds of men to an exact way of reasoning, and afterwards digesting things to a strict form of argument; which a man learneth not from precepts, but by use, and reading such books as are compiled, not with a loose fancy, but a severe reason, especially such politick books, as are made up of experience, which is our recollecting of things past; and prudence, which is our expectation of things to come, according to our experience of things past, especially such as have the happiness of perceiving things exactly as they are, and expressing them clearly and orderly as they conceive them.

He had the breeding of courtiers so long, until he was one himself: at once reading *Machiavel* for my lord Burleigh's instruction, and observing it for his own use. His parents designed him for study, his nature for business. His presence assisted his inclination, and his complaisance his presence; and his good nature, both: a good nature that would have spoiled a politician in any other but doctor Wilson, whose wisdom was the largeness of his soul, not the narrowness of a shift. He had that comprehensive and penetrating judgement, that he could at once shew the greatest prudence in laying his design, and the greatest integrity in managing it, as rather *securely knowing*, than *warily close*.

“ But he that is onely real, had need have exceeding great parts of vertue; as the stone
 “ had need be rich, that is set without foil:
 “ therefore he was something a courtier. There
 “ are

“ are small matters that win great commendation, because they are continually in use ;
“ whereas the occasion of any great action cometh but on festivals, and it is enough to attain so much ceremony and courtship, not to despise it.” He had a way of conveying effectual and imprinting passions among complements, suitable to persons and business : he had his familiarity to inferiors, that made him not cheap : his state among equals, that made him not envied : and his observance to superiors, that made him no flatterer : his behaviour like a well-made suit, not too strait, or *point-device*, but justly measured, and free for exercise or motion. He had a slow, but a sure way to honor, which was nothing else in him but a discovery of his virtues and worth upon any occasion, without any disadvantage.

It was his interest as well as his gift, to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, more considerate than active. His thoughts were as his inclination, grave ; his discourse as his reading, subtle ; his actions as his education, well-weighed, regular as his temper, even and smooth as custom, and resolved as a habit gotten in that advancement of virtue, a well-disciplined society ; where example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickneth, glory raiseth : none had a more skilful method to sway nature in others, none more prudent minutes and seasonable degrees to check it in himself ; his rule being, never to practise any thing until perfect : for so he might exercise his weakness as well as his abilities, and induce one habit of both.

Q. Mary


Three things he aimed at :

1. The search of truth by industry.
2. The attainment of it by apprehension.
3. The enjoyment of it by assent.

He is a happy man that is above the troubled and confused regions of opinions, fancies, prepossessions, in that clear and undisturbed one of truth and reality : though yet my lord Verulam observeth, that *if there were taken out of mens minds vain opinion, flattering hope, false valuations and imaginations, as one would, and the like, &c. it would leave the minds of a number of poor men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves.*

Neither took he greater pleasure in knowing than in relating and doing what is true, sound and plain, without those crooked courses that shew a creeping rather than a raised nature ; and, as Mr. Mountaigne observes, is a bravery and facing of God, and a shrinking from, and being coward before man.

He said, what all great men know, that he was six times a slave :

1. To himself and his inclination, till he had advanced reason.
2. To the world and its insolence, till he had improved his fortune.
3. To his pupils and their tempers, till he understood their genius.
4. To fame and its reports, till he was known in the world.
5. To his soveraigns and their humours, till he found their interest. And
6. To his business, till he had attained experience.

Thus

Thus it is with all grandees, who exchange *Q. Mary* their power over themselves for that over others, and with great pains come to greater.

Two things he wished when called to the world, power and resolution. A *naked* man is contemptible (for it's power that begets fear, it's fear that makes Gods, and rules the world) an easie man is useles: a facile-natured man may be a good companion for a private person, but no servant to a prince: remisness and connivance are the ruines of unsettled governments. The game of authority will not admit of too open a play.

In a word, he was one that knew the resorts and falls of business, though he could not sink into the main of a matter; being one that packed the cards better than he played them.

Three things complicated this secretary.

1. Quick dispatch and industry.
2. Constant intelligence and correspondence.
3. A large and strong memory.

Queen Elizabeth would needs at first favour my lord of Leicester against the earl of Sussex, which this doctor and my lord Burleigh dissuaded upon this account, because if she who should be the common mother of all, inclined to one party, and leaned to a side, the ship of the commonwealth would be as a boat overturned by too much weight on the one side, and too little on the other. *Take heed* (said the royal martyr to his son our sovereign) *of abetting any Faction, or applying to any publick Discrimination: your partial adhering as head to any one side gains you not so great advantages in some mens hearts (who are prone to go on in the King's way) as it loseth you*

Q. Mary you in others, who think themselves first despised, and then persecuted by you. Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality; or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any faction: for if ever you stand in need of them, or stand to their courtesie, you are undone.

His place called upon him to suppress with severity such seditious reflexions upon the state, as came to his knowledge: but his inclination was to dissipate them with connivance and contempt. To be opposed, renders a faction considerable; to be despised (and wretched) ridiculous: *To go about to stop the first appearances of sedition, is (saith my lord Bacon) but to make wonder long-lived.*

His knack was a politick and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes; and keeping men in suspense is one of the best antidotes against the poyson of discontent: it being observed by the foresaid states-man, to be a certain sign of a wise government and proceedings, to hold mens hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction; and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory, but that it hath some out-let of hope: which is the easier done, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to boast what they believe not.

In a word, although he made not so much noise as other men, yet he as effectually promoted the three main supporters of this nation, 1. Its native commodities, 2. Its artificial manufactures, 3. Its vecture and carriage; and so dyed with
that

that content and resolution, that they do who are Q. Mary overtaken by fate in the pursuit of great actions, and publick designs.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Portman.

JOHAN PORTMAN knight, was born of Lloyd. wealthy and worshipful extraction at Portman's Orchard in Somersetshire, a fair mannor, which descended to him by inheritance, the heir of the Orchard being match'd into his family. He was bred in the study of the common law; attaining to such eminency therein, that June 11, 2d of queen Mary, he was made chief justice of the king's bench, continuing two years in the place, and dying therein for ought I find to the contrary; and a baronet of his name and lineage flourishing at this day with a great and plentiful estate. No doubt but he dyed in his place, there being none of those things that carry disgrace and downfal with them, incident to him.

For the first thing that ruins a courtier, is *boasting of his own service; and than our knight, none more modest.

The second, is an undutiful observation of our princes actions; and none more faithful and meek.

The third, is the revealing or abusing of secrets; and none more reserved and civil.

T

The

* The things that overthrow a Favourite.

Q. Mary The fourth thing; is either provoking the nobility against *himself*, or dividing them among *themselves*: he was too wise for the one; his design being rather alliance than quarrel, to add interest to his estate, and honor to his riches; and too quiet for the other. *Many have an Opinion not wise, (saith that oracle) that for a Prince to govern his Estate, or for a great Person to guide his Proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy: whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things that are general; and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with, or correspondence to particular persons one by one. Mean men in their rising must adhere; but Great men that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral.*

The fifth particular that pulleth down a man, is a misunderstanding of his own interest, or the princes: our judge understood both, being equally made up of * *Craterus* and *Hæphæstion*, faithfulness and compliance.

The sixth, is the hatred of the *many* (whom this persons integrity always obliged, there being no herd more feral than an enraged multitude) or the envy of the *great*, whom his wariness disobliged not: it being more fatal to incense a favorite who *would* be above all affronts by his greatness, than a prince who is so by law.

The seventh misfortune, is to be too much concerned in the secrets of princes; wherewith sir William never meddled without assistants, never acted without a warrant.

The

* The first of these loved Alexander's interest, the other his person.

The eighth, is unsuccessful counsel; and our Q. Mary knight went the safe and middle way, neither to be feared nor envied, which he was always present to second, prosecute or correct, as he saw most cause.

His sharp and sound judgement to distinguish persons, affairs and other circumstances, and accordingly how to order the manner of his proceedings, was much; his well-weighed and wary, though quick apprehension and experience from men and books, more; his particular memory, and its minute observation for his conduct and business, most of all. His care of vain and idle prepossessions balanced his soul, his temper managed it: his love was choice and cautious; his hope moderate and knowing; his confidence slow, but certain; his desires and joys allayed and checked, or quickened by the edge of his anger, or the caution of his fear; and all sedate with his foresight.


Nature did his person some wrong in his body, but made him amends in his soul: the *fails* of the one, are *foils* to set of the other: the first comes off with more glory, by the pully and defect of the second! besides that the unkindness of *Nature* puts men often upon being eminent in *Art*; that the happiness of this, may divert men from observing the unhappiness of that.

But of all the virtues his constant and growing soul raised him to, this was one, that he durst not entertain a gift, which (as he said) *conquers both the foolish and the wise*: which in publick places it is a vice to accept, and not a virtue to offer: it being a *snare* rather than a *favour*.

Q. Mary present age, to be active; and on the future, to be renowned.

The old lord Burleigh, sometime treasurer of England, coming to Cambridge with queen Elizabeth, when he was led into the publick schools, and had much commended their convenience, beauty and greatness, together with their founder Humphrey the good duke of Gloucester; *Yea, marry, (said he) but I find one School wanting in our Universities, and that is the School of Discretion.* When private tutors had initiated, publick schools had seasoned, and the university had improved this gentleman's sprightly and noble parts, yet did his father observe one great defect in his education, and that is discretion: discretion in carriage, for which he sent him to court; discretion in business, for which he sent him to travel and fight. Not long had he been abroad to furnish himself with experience, but he is called home to ennoble himself with action. The Alves of Spain were for four generations together commanders by land, and the Howards of England for as many, admirals at sea. None ever had *more* power, none used *less* than he: the more authority he had allowed him over others, the more command he obtained over himself.

Twice did he mortgage his estate for his followers pay; many times did he venture his life for their encouragement. None directed more skilfully, and yet none acted more resolutely. Equally did he divide the profit, equally share the honor with his followers, who under him never dared, and never feared a danger. Manners make a man, saith the courtier: money makes a man,

man, faith the citizen ; learning makes a man, Q. Mary
 faith the scholar ; but conduct makes a man, 
 faith the souldier. This lord's spirit never put
 him on forwardly, but his wariness took care how
 to come off as safely. He that fights should
 despair, but he that commands should hope.
 The souldier among the Persians is drawn with
 his eyes before him, and the general with his
 behind him. Young men in the manage of af-
 fairs embrace more than they can hold, stir more
 than they can quiet, flee to the end without con-
 sideration of the means and degrees, pursue some
 few principles, and extreme remedies they have
 chanced upon rashly, which they will neither
 confess nor reform. Old men object too much,
 consult too long, adventure too little, repent too
 soon, and seldome pursue things home to their
 full period. My lord was an happy composition
 of both himself, and had of either about him,
 that the coldness and wariness of age might cor-
 rect the heat of youth, and the activity of youn-
 ger might be directed by the experience of riper
 ones : the one gave *Authority*, and the other
Life to his actions. He himself was better to
 invent than to judge, fitter for action than coun-
 sel, and readier for new projects than for settled
 business. The lord Clinton's prudence served
 him in old and usual matters, but in new things
 abused him : my lord Howard's was quick for
 present emergencies, but not comprehensive of
 ordinary transactions. Of the three admirals of
 those times, we may say as they did of the *
 three kingdoms, Lisle was wise before the action,
 my lord Howard in it, my lord Clinton after it.

Eng-

* France, Spain, and England.

Q. Mary England without a freedom of commerce, was but a larger prison: others opened the trade to the Indies, to Asia, and other parts of the world; but we wanted the hemp, the flax, the pitch, the furr, and the other usual commodities of Russia, serviceable to our selves, and more to our ships. His purse in this case did much, his direction more, his servant Jenkinson most of all, who made curious observations of Russia, set forth a geographical description of it, and was the first of the English, that sailed through the Caspian Sea. With his assistance the Muscovia company was set up in queen Maries days; and with his servants it obtained the priviledge of sole traffick into the northern parts of Russia in Elizabeth's.

Cicero.

* *Nil habet fortuna magna majus, nec natura bona melius quam ut velis bene-facere quam plurimis.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Edward Mountague.

Lloyd.

“ **E** DWARD MOUNTAGUE, son of
 “ Thomas Mountague, born at Brig-
 “ stock in Northamptonshire, was bred in the
 “ Inner Temple in the study of the laws, untill
 “ his ability and integrity advanced him lord
 “ chief

* Nothing makes an ample fortune more illustrious, nor a benevolent disposition more admirable, than a desire to do good to mankind.

“ chief justice of the king’s bench, in the thirti- Q. Mary
 “ eth of Henry the eighth. He gave for his
 “ motto, * *Æquitas Justitiæ Norma*: and although
 “ equity seemeth rather to resent of the chancery
 “ than the king’s bench, yet the best justice will
 “ be wormwood without a mixture thereof.

“ In his times though the golden showers of
 “ abbey-lands rained amongst great men, it was
 “ long before he would open his lap, (scrupling
 “ the acception of such gifts) and at last re-
 “ ceived but little, in proportion to others of
 “ that age.

“ In the thirty seventh of king Henry the
 “ eighth he was made chief justice of the com-
 “ mon pleas, a descent in honour, but ascent in
 “ profit; it being given to old age, rather to
 “ be thrifty than ambitious: whereupon he said,
 “ *I am now an old man, and love the Kitchen be-
 “ fore the Hall; the warmest place best suiting
 “ with my age.*

“ In drawing up the will of king Edward the
 “ sixth, and settling the crown on the lady Jane,
 “ for a time he swam against the tide and torrent
 “ of duke Dudley, till at last he was carried
 “ away with the stream.

“ Outed of his judges office in the first of
 “ queen Mary, he returned into Northampton-
 “ shire, and what contentment he could not
 “ finde in Westminster-hall, his hospital-hall at
 “ Boughton afforded him. He died Anno
 “ 1556, and lieth buried in the parish church of
 “ Weekly.”

His well-managed argument in Dodderige his
 case, brought him to Cromwel’s knowledge, who
 was

* Equity is the Rule of Justice.


Q. Mary was vexed with his reason, but well pleased with his parts. Cromwel's recommendation and his own modest nature set him up with Henry the eighth, who could not endure two things : 1. A lawyer that would not be guided : 2. A divine that would not be taught. Yet as modest as he was, he was honest ; and though he would submit to the king's power, yet he would act by his law : for his apophthegm was, *Mèum est Jus dicere, potius quam Jus dare* : It's my duty to interpret rather than give law.

He never denied or delayed justice ; always discouraging those cunning lawyers that perplexed a cause, those contentious clients that delayed a suit, and those nice-cummin-feed men that strained inferences, and wrested constructions.

Patient, stayed and equal he was in hearing, grave in speaking, pertinent in interrogating, wary in observing, happy in remembering, seasonable and civil in interposing. The council durst not chop with him, neither would he chop with the council, unless he defended his cause overboldly, urged indiscreetly, informed slightly, neglected grossly, renewed the debate unseasonably, or ensnared his adversaries cunningly ; in those and other the like cases, he would do the publick right by a *check*, and the person by an *admonition*.

Six sorts of persons he discountenanced in his courts :

1. The scandalous exactors.
2. The slie shifters, that, as that chancellour observed, pervert the plain and direct courses of courts,

courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and **Q. Mary**
labyrinths. 

3. Those that engaged courts in quarrels of jurisdiction.

4. Those that made suits.

5. Those that hunted men upon penal statutes.

6. Those that appeared in most testimonies and juries.

His darling was, the honest clerk, who was experienced in his place, obliging in his carriage, knowing in presidents, cautious in proceedings, and skilful in the affairs of the court.

Two things he promoted in king Henry's days;

1. The law against gaming. And

2. The order against stews.

And two in king Edward's :

1. That act against spreading of prophecies.

2. That statute against embasing of coyn.

But king Edward's testament and the Duke of Northumberland's will is to be made: the pious intentions of that king wishing well to the reformation, the religion of queen Mary obnoxious to exception, the ambition of Northumberland who would do what he listed, the weakness of Suffolk, who would be done with as the other pleased, the flattery of the courtiers most willing to comply, designed the crown for the lady Jane Grey. Mr. Cecil is sent for to London, to furnish that will with reason of state; and sir Edward to Serjeant's Inn, to make it up with law. He according to the letter sent him, went with sir Jo. Baker, justice Bromley, the attorney and soli-

Q. Mary solicitor general to Greenwich, where his majestie before the marques of Northampton, declaring himself for the settlement of religion, and against the succession of queen Mary, offered them a bill of articles to make a book of; which they, notwithstanding the king's charge, and the reiteration of it by sir William Peter declared upon mature consideration, they could not do, without involving themselves and the lords of the council in high treason, because of the statutes of succession.

The duke of Northumberland hearing of their declaration by the lord admiral, comes to the council-chamber all in a rage, trembling for anger; calling sir Edward traytor, and saying, *he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel.*

The old man is charged by the king upon his allegiance, and the council upon his life, to make the book; which he did, when they promised it should be ratified in parliament. Here was his obedience, not his invention; not to *devise* but *draw* things up according to the articles tendred unto him. Since shame is that which ambitious nature abhorreth, and danger is that which timorous nature declineth; the honest man must be resolute. Sir Nathaniel Brent would say, a coward cannot be an honest man; and it seems by this action, that modesty and fear are great temptations. Give me those four great vertues that make a man:

1. A clear Innocence.
2. A comprehensive knowledge.
3. A well-weighed experience. And
4. The product of all these, A steady Resolution.

What

What a skein of Ruffled silk (saith the ingenious Q. Mary Resolver) is the incomposed man!

Observation on the Life of Sir Edward Fines.

EDward Fines lord Clinton, knight of the ^{Lloyd} Garter, was lord admiral of England for more than thirty years. He was wise, valiant, and very fortunate, as appears by his *master-piece* in Muscledorrough field, in the reign of king Edward the sixth, and the battle against the Scots. He was afterwards created earl of Lincoln, where he was born, May 4, 1474, and where he had a proportionable estate to support his dignity, which he much increased, besides his paternal inheritance. He died January 16, 1558, and lieth buried at Windsor, in a private chappel, under a stately monument, which Elizabeth his third wife, daughter to the earl of Kildare, erected in his remembrance. His fortune made him a younger brother, and his industry an heir; coming to court, where they that have estates, spend them; and they that have none, gain them. His recreation was at court, but his business in the country; where notwithstanding the statute in Henry the seventh's time against pasturage for tillage, he grazed 11000 acres of ground: then a noble and gaining employment, that advanced many a family in one generation; and now a saving one, that hath kept up as many *ten*.

The

Q. Mary The best tempered swords will bend any way, and the best metalled men will comply with any occasion. At White-hall; none more affable and courteous than our lord; at sea, none more skilful; in the field, none more resolute; in the country, none more thrifty and hospitable. His entertainments were orderly and fuitable, made up of solid particulars, all growing upon his own estate. King Charles would say, *every man bath his vanity, and mine* (speaking of the Sovereign) *is building: every man bath his humour, and mine* (said he speaking of the Fens) *is drayning*. Adding withal, *he that would be merry for a day, let him be trimmed; he that would be merry for a week, let him marry; he that would be merry for a year, let him build; he that would be merry for ages, let him *improve*. Now you would have him among his workmen and stewards in Lincoln, anon among the commissioners either in France or Scotland; by and by before Bulloign or Calice, and a while after at Spieres or Muscleborough, and on a sudden at a mask in court. Neither was his soul less pliable to persons than things: as boisterously active as king Henry could expect, as piously meek as king Edward could wish, as warily zealous as queen Mary's time required, and as piercingly observant as queen Elizabeth's perplexed occasions demanded. It was by him and my lord Bacon said of business, *that it was in business as it is in ways, that the next and the nearest way is commonly the foulest; and that if a man will go the fairest way, he must go somewhat about*.

Sitting

* He means land,

Sitting in a committee about invading Scot-Q. Mary land, whereof Sir Anthony Brown then viscount Mountacute presented a draught, there arose as great a debate between him and my lord in council, as afterwards in the field, about the point of entrance; *nay*, said my lord in the heat of the discourse, with as much power on others passions, as command over his own, *We stand quarrelling here how we shall get in, but here is no discourse how we shall get out.*

It's a rule, whoſoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn, either by vertue or malice; and my lord having some disadvantage from nature, made it up by art: none more bold, none more industrious and more successful, because that disadvantage took off envy on the one hand, and jealousy on the other: so that upon the matter, in a great wit, contempt is a great advantage to rising.

Judge Brooke had a project against usury, which came up to the lords house: this rich peer upon the first motion of it, stands up, and saith, *Shew me a state without usury, and I'll shew you a state without men and trade.*


Rich he was for expence, and expend he did upon honour and good action: his ordinary expences were the third of his estate, and his extraordinary none of it; his rule being, extraordinary disadvantages must be balanced with extraordinary advantages. He would not stoop to petty gains, but he would abridge petty charges: but his occasions calling him often from his estate, he turned it all to certainties; often changing
his

Q. Mary his servants, who being unacquainted with him and his estate, were less subtil, and more timorous. Much behind-hand he was when he came to the estate, and as much before when he left it. Neither was he too sudden or too slow in paying his debts; equally avoiding a disadvantageous sale on the one hand, and devouring interest on the other: and so inuring himself by degrees into a habit of frugality, he gained as well upon his mind, as upon his estate. For husbanding the English treasure in Scotland, he was knighted in the field, May 11, 34 H. 8. by the earl of Hertford: for the clause concerning Scotland, he put in at the treaty of Guisnes, 35 H. 8. he was made baron by patent: for his discreet conduct in demanding the young queen of Scots, together with the performance of the articles made in Henry the eighth's time, with 60 sail of ships before the battel of Musclevorburgh, he had 600*l.* a year assigned him by the protector: for his great experience at sea, his interest in sea-men, and his renown among the neighbour-states, he was made earl of Lincoln.

*Observations on the Life of Sir
Barnaby Fitz-patrick.*

Lloyd.

Barnaby Fitz-patrick, had the honour of being king Edward the sixth his proxy at school, and one of his bed-chamber at court. In king Henry the eighth's time he was sent to school, in Edward the sixth's to travel, where he had these

these directions following from that king, how he *Q. Mary* might learn fashions there, and send intelligence  hither.

E D W A R D;

WE understand by your letters received the eighth of this present month, your good entertainment, being glad thereof; and also how you have been once to go on pilgrimage: wherefore we think fit to advertise you to desire leave to go to Mr. Pickering, or to Paris, in case hereafter any such chance happen. And if that will not serve, to declare to some person of estimation, with whom you are best acquainted, that as you are loth to offend the French king by reason of his kind usage of you; so with safe conscience you cannot do any such thing, being brought up with me, and bound to obey my laws: also that you had commandment from me to the contrary. Yet if you be vehemently procured, you may go as waiting upon the king, not as intending to the abuse, nor willingly see the ceremonies: and so you look on the mass, but in the mean time regard the scripture, or some good book, and give no reverence to the mass at all.

Furthermore, remember when you may conveniently be absent from the court, to tarry with sir William Pickering, to be instructed by him how to use yourself. For women, as far forth as you can, avoid their company; yet if the French king command you, you may sometime dance, so measure be your mean: else apply yourself to riding, shooting, tennis, or such honest games; not forgetting sometimes (when you

U

have

Q. Mary have leisure) your learning, chiefly reading of the Scriptures. We would not have you live too sumptuously as an ambassador, but so as your proportion of living may serve you, we mean, because we know many will resort to you, and desire to serve you. I told you how many I thought convenient you should keep. After you have ordered your things at Paris, go to the court, and learn to have more intelligence if you can; and after to the wars, to learn somewhat to serve us. By your letters of the second and fifteenth of April, we perceive that you were at Nancy, ready to go together with Mr. Pickering to the French camp; and to the intent you might be better instructed how to use yourself in these wars, we have thought good to advertise you of our pleasure therein. First, we would wish you, as much as you may conveniently, to be in the French king's presence, or at least in some part of his army, where you shall perceive most business to be; and that for two causes: one is, because you may have more experience in the wars, and see things as might stand you in stead another day: the other is, because you might be more profitable in the language. For our ambassador, who may not wear harness, cannot well come to those places of danger, nor seem so to serve the French king, as you may, whom we sent thither for that purpose. It shall be best for you therefore hereafter, as much as you may, to be with the French king, and so you shall be more acceptable to him, and do yourself much good. This I write, not doubting but you would have done it, though I had not written, but to spur you on.

Adding withal, To learn the tongue, to see the manner of the court, and advertise his master of occurrences, keeping close to the king of France, to whom he shall offer his service in the wars, where he is

he is to observe the fortifications of the cities, the conduct of the armies, the advantages and disadvantages of both parties; their skirmishes, battles, assaults, and the plots of the chief towns, where any enterprizes of weight have been done. His exercises were to be hunting and riding; his company few, but choice, &c. Q. Mary

This gentleman after his return out of France, was created by the king baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland; where he dyed a good protestant, a publick-spirited patriot, and an honest man.

Observations on the Life of Sir Henry Fitz-Alane, earl of Arundel.

His first appearance in the world* was to adorn Lloyd: the court, his next was to serve it. First his estate and train attends king Henry to the interview with France, and a while after his valour and conduct is commanded by him to the war.

Equally prepared is he to please and awe that countrey; the duke of Suffolk is made general for his popularity, and the earl of Arundel lord marshal, for his spirit and prudence; and both being before Bulloign, this noble lord run up his squadron under a running shelter about eleven at night, to the very walls of the city; which being battered down by the canon, which was mounted some forty yards higher, opened to the

U 2

close

* Anno H. 8. 14.

Q. Maryclose besiegers a passage that gained the whole town by composition.

Neither was he less active in peace than war. A piercing apprehension, a strong memory, a large and capacious judgment, a dexterous prudence, a discerning wisdom, was the least of his happiness: for to his sufficiency and capacity, he added a good disposition and integrity: and to that, vigour and gracefulness. He was the excellent personage, that 1. discerned, 2. embraced and performed what was noble and publick: (*to know, to will and effect what is good, make up a God.*) to these were added a strong nature; a deep study, and a very great experience; qualities separated in others, but united in him: nature will out, education is rude; education without resolution, is loose; resolution without experience is heady; experience grounded upon particular events, is uncertain without the study of general and immoveable principles: knowledge of things in their sources and original causes, without nature, is a burden: all these without exercise are a notion.

This nobleman thus furnished, derived, much honor from his ancestors, more to them; ennobling that blood to a glory, which some had debased to a blush. That great name after four hundred years shining in that honour with various lustre, setting in him as the sun he bore with a full splendour: the last effort of nature is a master-piece; the last blaze of the candle a shine.

Other noblemen were made king Edward's overseers for their integrity; he one of his assistants for his ability: when an enemy was to be awed to a submission, he was general, such his fame!

fame! When the countrey was to be obliged to a loan, he was agent, such his popularity! The first advanced him to the comptrollership under Henry the eighth; the second to the Chamberlainship under Edward the sixth. Q. Mary


Nature hath provided that ravenous beasts should not associate, lest they should be too hard for it; and government, that prime counsellours should not agree, lest they overthrow it: Warwick envied the protectors greatness, and Arundel would limit his power: both with the rest of the council declare against him. But lest he should urge the same things against Warwick that he did against Somerset; they, who love the treason, but hate the traytor, turn him first out of favour, and then out of council, until queen Mary's time, when he as an antient nobleman of England, (that owned no upstart designs against the old way of succession) stood for her right, and as a stiff catholique promoted her religion: so that July 21, 1553, he came from the queen to Cambridge, where the duke of Northumberland was, and entring his chamber, the duke fell at his feet, desiring him for God's sake to consider his case, who had done nothing but by warrant from the council: *My lord, (said the earl) I am sent hither by the queen to arrest you. And I, (said the duke) obey your arrest, beseeching your mercy for what I did by commission. You should have thought of that sooner, (said the earl.)* Here you might have seen at once the vicissitude of fortune, the frailty of man, the dejectedness of guilt, the bravery of innocence, who would neither be trampled on by greatness, nor trample on misery; of an equal temper between pity and resolution.

Q. Mary As long as his youth bore it, we find him for action; but when years came upon him, we find him in council, as with Wotton at the great treaty at Cambray: yet not so unactive, but that as sir William Pickering for his sweet demeaner, so he for his estate was voiced a husband to queen Elizabeth.

When the rest of the council were for dealing with the queen of Scots underhand and at distance, he was for treating with her plainly; and said in the queen's presence, *The wisdom of the former age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not shifts.* Leicester would persuade the duke of Norfolk to court the queen of Scots, but Arundel would not hear of it without the queen of England's consent; experience is always wary, yet hath its weakneses, wherein it may be surprized. For this nobleman's kindness to his friend, balancing his duty to his mistress, brought him, the earl of Southampton, the lords Lumley, Cobham, Piercy, &c. to a præmunire: whereupon he said, *He is never wise, that is not distrustful.*

Fear, that betrayeth the succours of reason, when predominant, guardeth them when moderate, and is more safe, though not so noble as that valiant confidence that bequeaths a dilated freedom to all faculties and senses.

But of all his actions this is most remarkable: treating with the Scots, he writ to his majesty king Henry the eighth; what he had gained already, requiring to know his further pleasure: the king takes advice with his council, who all agree that the peace should be concluded: Whereupon the king caused his secretary the lord Paget to write
to

to him to that purpose; but withal, he called Q. Mary
 mr. Cecil secretly to him, bidding him tell 
 my lord, that *whatsoever he had written in his*
letter, yet with all speed possible he should break the
treaty. Mr. Cecil replying, *that a message by*
word of mouth being contrary to his letter would
never be believed; well (said the king) *do you tell*
him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his
choice. Upon mr. Cecil's arrival, the earl of
 Arundel shewed the other commissioners as well
 the message as the letter; they are all for the let-
 ter; he said nothing, but ordered that the message
 should be written before, and signed by his fellow
 commissioners; and thereupon immediately broke
 up the treaty, sending Cecil with the advertise-
 ment of it to the king; who as soon as he saw
 him, asked aloud, *what! will he do it, or no?* Ce-
 cil replied, that his majesty might understand that
 by the inclosed. But then the king half angry,
 urged, *nay tell me, will he do it or no?* being then
 told it was done, he turned to the lords and said,
Now you will hear news, the fine treatie is broken;
 whereto one presently answered, *that he who had*
broke it deserved to lose his head; to which the
 king straitly replied, *that he would lose a dozen*
such heads as his was that so judged, rather than
one such servant as had done it; and therewith
 commanded the earl of Arundel's pardon should
 be presently drawn up, the which he sent with
 letters of thanks, and assurance of favour.

Five things must a statesman comprehend.

1. The law.
2. The Government.

3. The

Q. Mary



3. The Time.
4. The people. And
5. The Prince.

Under an active prince, you must regard the prerogative; under an easie one, the law; under a compleat one made up of a just measure of greatness and goodness, those two things are distinguished onely in the nice discourses of some *Speculativi*, being but one great rule in the solid actions of that prince.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Dudley Duke of Northumberland.

Lloyd.

His favour was first purchased by his father's blood, and improved by his own cunning. King Henry sacrificed sir Edmund Dudley to allay the people's rage, and raised his son to appease his ghost. He that disobligeth a multitude must fall himself; *but he that in so doing serveth his king, may advance his posterity.* Something high he was in the king's favour, because standing on his father's grave; but higher as he stood on his own merit. He knew his father's service made his way to favour; his own education therefore must prepare him for employment. Favour without parts is a reproach; parts without favour are a burden. The king restored him to his father's blood, and his own industry recovered his abilities. There are those that under the notion of
wisdom

wisdome commit the greatest folly, either in too much conversing with the world without; or in too much reflecting on themselves within: Sir John was made up of both; some time he allowed for action, more for consideration. *There is not any thing so prejudicial to action, as to be bent upon action without intermission: for as the eye seeth not the objects touching it, but those onely more remote, so the understanding continually plunged in affairs, is not so quick sighted in occurrents, as his who sometime retireth himself from publick action, beholding it aloof off by consideration. In the heat and tumult of affairs, reason hath not that power as may give conduct and motion to active life: besides, experience teacheth us, that the eye having lost its quickness with too much looking upon the light, recovereth it again in the dark: the spirit in like manner dazzled, weakened, transported and distracted among the multitude and variety of affairs, ought to recollect and recover its force in the privacy of some small retreat; which sir John made to Italy, the seat of policy and experience; whence I pray God he brought no more (saith my author) than his closeness and reach.*

His sovereign saw he deserved honour, but saw not without offence to the populacy how to confer it, until the subtle youngster shewed him a middle way, (upon the strange death of the viscount Lisle, who lost his life for joy that it was saved) by petitioning for that honour as a favour, which upon his mother's account was his *right*: the crafty youth entered himself of the cardinal's retinue first, and then of the king's. Much was he employed by him at sea, as an overseer of the navy; more in the field, as
director

Q. Mary director-general; most of all in the Romish and French court, as a spy. He was too good a proficient in his school to fall with him, therefore we immediately observe him rising with Cromwel, until the king made him *Admiral*, and he with his 200 sail upon the coast of Scotland made himself *renowned*; insomuch that the king left him the next year viceroy of France, and deputy of Calice and Bulloign: where to revenge the French attempts upon the isle of Wight, he drew his fleet up to the coasts of Normandy; landed 6000 men at Treport, burned the suburbs of that town with the abby, destroyed 30 ships there in the haven, and then returned, not having lost above fourteen persons in the whole voyage: insomuch that in a treaty between Ard and Guisnes, wherein he was commissioner with the earl of Hertford, secretary Paget, and Dr. Wotton, the French were contented that we held Bulloign till they paid us 800000 crowns within the term of eight years. For the further establishment whereof, he and the bishop of Duresm are employed to take oath of the French king and the Daulphine. His master Henry dieth, but not his designe with him: Norfolk is out of his way; Seymour will be so: he is now executor of king Henry's will, he will be of his own. But as nature, so policy works by degrees; first the graft, then the tree; after that, the blossom; next that, the fruit; first meaner essays, and then higher actions. There was nothing to be attempted at home, until we were secured and feared from abroad; he therefore leads the vauntguard against the Scots so successfully, that he is made earl of Warwick. Here his spirit had

had ensnared him, had not his conduct brought Q. Mary him off. When the protector refused a combat as not becoming him, Warwick offered one : *Bring me word* (said he to the herald that brought the protector a challenge from the lord Huntley) *that thy Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains.* But a publick conduct becomes a general better than personal valour ; and he must so far onely remember he is a souldier, as not to forget he is a commander, and so a whole army too.

Against the rebels in Devonshire so happy he was, that upon his discreet overture of pardon, (mercie is a vertue with valour, and but a weakness with cowardize) and coming in person to assure them of it, they saying, they *knew him so honourable, that if he came himself they would embrace it* ; threw down their arms, and submitted to mercie.

Against the French, that took the opportunity of those turmoyls, he was so prosperous, that he sent them home from Jersey and Guernsey with the loss of two thousand men.

Honour he had enough, and power too, yet not what he aimed at ; (our souls are infinite as in their duration, so in their capacity.) Ambition is like cholar, which is a humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity and stirring, if it be not stopped ; but if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous ; so aspiring men, if progressive and successful (their passage to advancement being clear) are rather active than perilous ; but if curbed with some obstructions, their

Q. Mary their secret discontent casts an evil aspect upon all persons and actions, and becomes rather dangerous than serviceable.

This great earl's greater minde was usefull, when prosperous abroad; but at home troublesome, when finding a plain man in his way to height, great in his power, greater in his sovereign's affections and greatest of all in his knowing brother; whose spirit bare up his authority, as his authority supported *His* courage: in that * man's breast there was a prudence that could reach, and a stoutness that could balance this at once close and fierce man.

Interest and blood united these brothers so strongly, that there was no dividing of them, but by practising on their wives, whose humours were above their interest, and fancy above their relation. Their precedence is made a question at court, where it bred first a distance, and upon an interview contrived in this lord's house, a difference; that difference is improved to an animosity, (he can do little that cannot blow up a spark in a woman's breast to a flame) that animosity to malice, and malice cannot dwell long in those weaker breasts without a mischief; mischief they cannot do themselves :) the ivy cleaves to the oak, and these women to their husbands; though both ruine the thing they cling to :) what suggestions! what insinuations! what petty fears and jealousies! what little tales and passions! Yet *continual droppings wear a Stone*: the womens discords derive themselves into the husbands hearts, until the admiral falls, and leaves the protector to his own integrity: whose large trust
and

* Viz. The Lord Thomas Seymour.

and infinite businefs could not but bewray him Q. Mary
 to some errour, as his great power did to much
 envy, that first divested him of that power, and
 then of his life.

There is not a more admirable wisdom directing the contrarieties of nature to an harmony, than there is a close reach in some men to reconcile variety of humours, affections, oppositions, rencounters, events and changes to one design. The protector's easiness is betrayed to confidence; his too late fears, to a confidence at first, and at last to irregularities: the hopes of some were encouraged, the grievances of others were aggravated and pitied, the envy of a third part was excited, and he the soul in all and every part of the action. *The Protector was free-spirited, open hearted, humble, hard to distrust, easy to forgive: The Earl was proud, subtle, close, cruel and implacable; and therefore it was* * *impar congressus between them, almost with as much disadvantage as between a naked and armed person.* Two nets are laid to take the protector; the one breaks, the other holds: the treason was onely to give a report, the felony for designing the death of the earl of Warwick a privy counsellour, did the execution.

He being removed out of the way, this earl of Warwick, as his predecessor, meditates the honour of king-making. To this purpose he joyns himself by alliance to the best families, and advanceth his children by employments to the greatest trusts; particularly (what sir Richard Baker saith had been better if it had never been) his son Robert (afterward Earl of Leicester) was sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the king's

* An unequal contest.


Q. Maryking's chamber : upon which particular the fore-
 said historian observeth, *That after his coming into
 a place so near him, the King enjoyed his health
 but a while.* The duke of Somerset is trained
 by his enemies to such fears and jealousies, as
 transport him beyond his own good nature, to
 an attempt one morning upon the earl of War-
 wick, now duke of Northumberland, abed ;
 where being received with much kindeness, his
 heart relented, and he came off * *re infecta*. At
 his coming out, one of his company asked him
 if he had done the deed ? he answered *No*.
 Then said he, *You are your self undone.* And in-
 deed it so fell out : for when all other accusations
 were refuted, this onely stuck by him, and could
 not be denied ; and so he was found guilty by
 a statute of his own procurement, viz.

*That if any should attempt to kill a Privy-
 Councillour, although the fact were not done,
 yet it should be Felony, and to be punished with
 death.*

This, notwithstanding many divertisements
 used, went so near the consumptive king's heart,
 that he prepares for death. The duke now
 within ken of his design, considering the king's
 affection for reformation, the lords and other
 purchasers kindness for church-lands, the judges
 fear, the courtier's compliance, carried on a will
 with a high hand, (trembling with anger, saith
 judge Mountague, if any opposed him ; yea,
 saying, *That he would fight in his Shirt, with any
 that contradicted it*) wherein the crown was be-
 stowed on Jane Grey, his fourth son's wife, (the
 princesses Mary and Elizabeth being laid aside.)

But

* Without doing the business,

But he forgot (as what man, though never so *Q. Mary* reaching, can consider all things?) that there is  an invifible power in *Right*, that there is a natural antipathy in Englifh men againft ufurpation, and as great an inclination for the fucceffion: *A Point they had conned fo well of late out of the Statute made for that purpose, that they could not well be put out of it by this new-started Defigne.* The people ftand by queen Mary: the council notwithstanding their engagement to ftand by him at his going away, (when he obferved in Shore-ditch that the people gazed on him, but bid him not *God fpeed*; and he told the lords, *They might purchafe their fafety with his ruine.* To which one of the lords replied, *Your Grace makes a doubt of that which cannot be: for which of us all can wafh his hands clear of this bufinefs?*) proclaimed the queen at London, as he doth at Cambridge; where yet the earl of Arundel (who offered his life at his feet when he marched out: O the viciffitudes of this lower world?) arrefts him refolutely, and he fubmits weakly, firft to an imprifonment, and then to a tryal and execution.

*The firft night he came to Cambridge, all the Docters fupped with him; and Doctör Sandys is appointed to preach before him next day. The Doctör late at night betakes himfelf to his Prayers and Study, defiring God to direct him to a fit Text for that time. His Bible opened at the firft of Iofhua, and (though he heard no voice with St. Auguftine, faying, * Tolle & lege) a ftrong fancy inclined him to fix on the firft words he beheld, v. 16. And they answered Iofhua, faying, All that thou commandeft us we will do; and whither-*

* Take it up and read.

*Q. Mary whithersoever thou sendest, we will go: A Text
 be so wisely and warily handled, that his Enemies got
 not so full advantage against him as they ex-
 pected.*

*The next day the Duke advanced to Bury with his army, whose feet marched forward while their minds moved backward. Upon the news brought him, he returned to Cambridge, with more sad thoughts within him, than valiant Souldiers about him. Then went he with the Mayor of the Town, and proclaimed the Queen; the Beholders whereof more believing the grief in his eyes when they let down tears, than the joy professed by his hands when he threw up his cap. Slegge Sergeant at Arms arrests him in King's-Colledge; and when the Proclamation of Pardon set him at liberty, the earl of Arundel re-arrests him, at whose feet he craves mercy; a low posture in so high a person! But what more poor and prostrate than Pride it self, when reduced to extremity? Behold we this Duke as the Mirrour of Humane Unhappiness!**

As Nevil earl of Warwick was the make-king, so this Dudley Earl of Warwick was the make-queen. He was Chancellour of the University, and Steward of the Town of Cambridge; two offices which never before or since met in the same person.

Thus as Cambridge was his Verticle Poynt, wherein he was in the height of Honour: so it was his Vertical, where he met with a suddain turn, and a sad Catastrophe. And it is remarkable, that though this Duke (who by all means endeavoured to aggrand his Posterity) had six sons, all men, all married, none of them left any issue behind

* Hist. Camb. p. 131.

behind them. Thus far better it is to found our *Q. Mary* hopes of even earthly happiness on *Goodness*, than *Greatness*. Thus far the Historian.

It was Lewis the eleventh's motto, *Pride and Presumption go before, Shame and Loss follow after.* In three sorts of men ambition is good :

1. In a souldier, to quicken him.
2. In favourites, to balance others.

3. In great states-men, to undertake invidious employments: *For no man will take that part except he be like a seeled Dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him.* And in these men it's safe if they are mean in their original; harsh in their nature, stirring in many little, rather than in any *great* business. Greater in his own interest than in his followers. Humility sojourneth with safety and honour, pride with danger and unworthiness. No man below an anointed one, is capable of an unlimited power; a temptation too great for mortality, whose highest interest if indulged, is *Self*; and if checked, *Malice*. Dangerous is the *Power* of an aspiring person near a prince, more dangerous his *Disguise*, as who acts all things against his master by his authority.

Let no man upon this example ever repose so much upon any man's single counsel, fidelity or discretion, as to create in himself or others a diffidence of his own judgment, which is likely to be most faithfull and true to a man's own *Interest*. Let every man have some things that no man shall obtain, and somethings that no man must dare ask; because you see here, if we let all go without reserve, our reputation is lost in

Q. Mary the world by the reputation our favourite gains
 with us.

There was in Rome a certain man named Enatius, somewhat entred in age, and of natural condition mutinous, ambitious, and troublesome: Adrian being advertised that he was dead, fell into a great laughter, and sware, that he could not but wonder he could intend to die, considering what great business he had night and day; considering how many affairs he had to manage, how many cross accidents to accommodate, I wonder what time he had to die: and considering his many pretences for the protestant religion, especially that for king Edward's, I wonder with what face he could die a papist.

But I have forgot my self: for there are two sorts of persons in *Macbiavel* that must either not believe, or not profess any religion: the first, the states-man, that acts in publick affairs; the second, the historian, that writes them.

Observations on the Life of *Sir William Peter.*

Lloyd.

HE was born in that great nursery of parts Devonshire; and bred in a greater, Exeter-Colledge. That colledge made him a scholar, and All-Souls a man. His capacity was contemplative, and his genius active: observing, rather than reading; with his eye more on men, than books; studying behaviour, rather than
 notion;

notion; to be accomplished, rather than know-^{Q. Mary}ing? and not to erre in the main, rather than to be excellent in circumstance. His body set off his parts with a grave dignity of presence, rather than a soft beauty of aspect: his favour was more taking than his colour, and his motion more than favour; and all such, as made his early vices blush, and his riper vertues shine.

The earl of Wiltshire first pitched upon him for his sons tutor, and then for his own companion. *Noble Families set off hopeful Parts, and improve them.*

Cromwel's quick eye one day at my lord's, spyeth his personage, and observes his carriage. (*He was a man himself, and understood one.*) Nothing would satisfie him, but that the young gentleman should come to court, and go to travel. King Henry loved any *All-souls* man; but was enamoured with him, in whom concurred the three perquisites of that society,

1. A gentle extraction.
2. A graceful behaviour.
3. Competent learning.

The young man designed for businesse, was to travel for education, and the scholar for experience.

1. His pension is allowed him, 125*l.* a year.
2. His tutor is assigned, who had been there before, and could instruct him what he should see, where he should go, what acquaintance to entertain, what exercise or discipline to undergo.

3. His instructions were drawn up: as,

1. That he should keep a diary of what the chiefest places and the eminent persons, either

Q. Mary apart or in conventions, yielded worthy of re-
 marque and observation.

2. To have before him a map or card of every place he goeth to.

3. Not to stay long in any one place.

4. To converse with no Englishman but agents, embassadors, or such grave persons as his majesty would direct him to.

5. To endeavour after recommendations from persons of quality in one place, to those in another; keeping still his correspondence with the most publick and eminent persons of every respective place.

Within five years he returned a compleat gentleman, correcting the vices of one country with the virtues of another; and being one happy composition of every region. Sir John Philpot was not so much the worse, as sir William was the better for travel; he returning to the shame of all nations; of his own, by his weakness abroad; of others, by their follies at home: this coming home the honour of his own by his abilities abroad, of others by his perfections at home.

Two things improved his travel:

1. An artificial and careless freedome, that opened others.

2. A natural gravity, that shut him up, and was more capable of observing their virtues, and escaping their vices.

Peter earl of Savoy came to do his homage to Otho the fourth in a double attire; on the one side cloth of gold, on the other shining armour: the emperour asked him what meant that lindsey-woolsey?

woolsey? he answered, *Sir, the attire on the right side is to honour your Majesty, that on the left is to serve you.* Sir William Peter returns with those gayeties of carriages on the one hand that might adorn a court, and with those abilities on the other that might support it. His first employment was the charts, the latin letters, and the forreign negotiation; the next, was principal secretary: in which office, Wriothesly was rough and stubborn, Paget easie, Cecil close, Mason plain, Smith noble; Peter was smooth, reserved, resolved, and yet obliging. Both the laws he was doctor of, and both the laws he made use of; the civil law to direct foreign negotiations, and the other to give light to domestic occasions.

In the king's absence in France 1554, Cranmer and Thorleby are to assist the queen in matters of religion, the earl of Hertford in affairs of war, the lord Parr of Horton, and doctor Peter, in the civil government; (whose maxime it was, *It is the interest of the Kings of England to be the Arbiters of Christendome.*) Thus much he was to the queen by Henry the eighth's deputation, and no less to king Edward by his will.

A man would wonder how this man made a shift to serve four princes of such distant interests as king Henry, king Edward, queen Mary, queen Elizabeth; until he recollects the French king, who enquired of a wise man how he might govern himself and his kingdome? the wise man took a fair large sheet of paper, and instead of an infinite number of precepts, which others use to offer upon that subject, he onely writ this

Q. Mary word, *Modus, A Mean.* In king Henry's time he observed his humour, in king Edward's he kept to the law, in queen Mary's he intended wholly state-affairs, and in queen Elizabeth's he was religious, his years minding him of death, and his death of his faith. He moved with the first movers in most transactions to his *apparent* danger, yet he had motions of his own for his *real* security. Able he was at home, and very dexterous abroad; particularly at Bulloin. The philosophers exercising their gifts before an ambassador, he asked one that was silent what he should say of him? *Report to your King* (saith he) *that you found one among the Græcians that knew how to hold his tongue.* *Ah,* (saïd Monsieur Chatillon) *we had gained the last 200000 Crowns without Hostages, had it not been for the man that said nothing,* (meaning secretary Peter.)

Neither was he better at keeping his own counsel, than at discovering other mens, as appeared by the intelligence he had, that the emperor had sent ships to transport the lady Mary into Germany, in case the king would not allow her the practice of her religion, (though three men knew not that designe in the German court) whereupon he fetched her to Leez; and thence, under the notion of preparing for sea-matters, he sent over five thousand pounds to relieve the protestants.

Active he was about the will in compliance with his duty to king Edward, but as nimble in his intelligence suitable to his allegiance to queen Mary; whom he assisted in two particulars: 1. In making the match: 2. In searching the bottom of Wiat's insurrection: therefore,

1. When

1. When the church-lands went against her **Q. Mary** conscience, sir William Peter must be sent for. 

2. When the pope sent another legate to turn out Pool, he must be sent for; (who advised her to forbid him this land, as she very resolutely did.)

As serviceable was he to queen Elizabeth, till his age not being able to go through the difficulties, and his conscience being impatient of the severities of those busie and harsh times, he retired to Essex, where his estate was great, and his charity greater: both which he bequeathed his son John, who was by king James made baron of Writtle in that county.

Observations on the Life of Cardinal Pool.

HIS extraction was so high, that it awakened **Lloyd** king Henry the eighth's jealousies; and his spirit so low, that it allayed it: when he reflected on his royal * relation, he was enjealousied to hard thoughts of restraint and security; when he observed his modest hopefulness, he was obliged to those more mild of education and care, as more honourable than the other, and as safe: religion and study would enfeeble that spirit to quiet contemplation, which more manlike exercises might ennoble for business and action. It

* His Mother was Daughter to the Duke of Clarence, and Grandchild to Edward the IV.

Q. Mary It was but mewing him up in a study in hopes of a *Mitre*, and there would be no danger of his ambition to the *Crown*. The privacies of the school and colledge made him a stranger to the transactions of court; and he was to follow his book, that he might not understand himself.

His preferments were competent to content him, and yet but mean to expose him.

Three things concurred to his escape from king Henry's toyl.

1. His relation's ambition, that could not endure he should be wrapped in black, that was born to be clothed in purple.

2. His own inclination to adde experience to his learning.

3. The king's policy to maintain him abroad, who could not safely keep at home.

No sooner arriveth he at Paris, than the Pope caresseth him as a person fit to promote his interest: the house of York supports him, as one that kept up their claim; and the general discontent crieth him up as one that was now the hope of England, and might be its relief.

That he might not come short of their expectation, or his own right, his large capacity takes in the learning of most universities, observeth the way of most nations, and keeps correspondence with all eminent men: the first of these improved his learning, the second his experience, the third his converse.

The marques of Exeter, the lord Mountacute, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Edward Nevil, sir Geoffery Poole, would have made him a king, (but to gain him a *Crown*, they lost their own *Heads*) and pope Julius made him a king's fellow;
low;

low ; but he was never head of this church since Q. Mary he put the red hat on this cardinal.

The king had him declared for a traytor in England, and he him excommunicated for an heretick at Rome. His friends are cut off by the king at home, and the king's enemies cherished by him abroad.

But princes are mortal, though their hatred not so : for before the king's death, he would needs be reconciled to Pool, and as some thought, by him to Rome ; wherefore he sends to him now in great esteem in Italy, desiring his opinion of his late actions clearly, and in few words : glad was Pool of this occasion to dispatch to him his book * *de unione Ecclesiarum*, inveighing against his supremacy, and concluding with an advice to Henry to reconcile himself to the catholick church, and the pope as head thereof. Our king having perused this, and knowing it could not lie hid in Italy (though Pool had promised not to publish it) sends for him by post to come into England, to explain some passages thereof : but Pool knowing that it was declared treason there to deny the king's supremacie, refused ; desiring the king neverthetheless in letters to him and Tonstal, to take hold of the present time, and redintegrate himself with the pope ; whereby he might secure his authority, and advance it with the honour of being the cause of a reformation of the church in doctrine and manners.

King Edward is king of England, and the cardinal like to be pope of Rome, keeping pace with the royal family ; he head of the church catholick, they of that in England : but king
Ed.

* On the Union of the Churches.

Q. Mary Edward's weakness of body suffered him not long to enjoy his throne, and the cardinal's narrowness and easiness of spirit suffered him not at all to sit in his chair.

For upon Paul the third's death, the cardinals being divided about the election, the imperial part, which was the greatest, gave their voice for cardinal Pool; which being told him, he disabled himself, and wished them to chuse one that might be most for the glory of God, and good of the church. Upon this stop, some that were now friends to Pool, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; among other things, that he was not without suspicion of Lutheranism, nor without blemish of incontinence: but he cleared himself so handsomely, that he was now more importuned to take the place than before, and therefore one night (they say) the cardinals came to him being in bed, and sent word they came to adore him, (a circumstance of the new pope's honour) but he being waked out of his sleep and acquainted with it, made answer, that *this was not a work of darkeness, and therefore requir'd them to forbear until next day, and then do as God should put in their minds.* But the Italian cardinals attributing this put-off to a kind of stupidity and sloth in Pool, looked no more after him, but the next day chose cardinal Montanus pope, who was afterwards named Julius the third.

I have heard of many that would have been popes, but could not; I write this man one that could have been one, but would not.

But

But though he would not be pope of Rome, Q. Mary yet when Mary was queen, he was one of England; where he *was Legate*, and if it had not been for the emperour, *had been King*: for as soon as she was in the throne of England, he was sent for out of Italy into the chair of Canterbury; but Charles the emperour, by the pope's power, secretly retarded his return, fearing it might obstruct the propounded marriage between his son and the queen. Indeed the queen bare the cardinal an unfeigned affection for six reasons:

1. For his grave and becoming presence, that endeared him no less to those that saw him, than his parts and prudence did to those that conversed with him: the diamond is then orient, when set in gold.

2. For his disposition, as calm as her majesties, and as meek as his profession.

3. For his age: being about ten years older, the proportion allowed by the philosopher between husband and wife.

4. For alliance: she being daughter to Henry the eighth, and he grandchild to Edward the fourth.

5. For his education with her, under his mother.

6. For his religion, for which he was an exile, as she was a prisoner, and both confessors.

But now when the marriage with prince Philip was consummated, Pool at last got leave for England; and to wipe away all suspicion of *Lutheranism*, wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a *cruel*, that he might be believed a

Q. Mary cordial papist: * For meeting in Brabant with Emanuel Tremelius, requesting some favour from him, be not only denied him relief, but returned him railing terms; though formerly he was not only his very familiar friend, but his godfather too, when of a few he turned Christian. Arrived in England, (as the historian goeth on) he was first ordained priest, being but deacon before, and then consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, the queen being present, at Bow; where rich in costly robes, and sitting on a gilded throne, his pall was presented to him: adorned, he presently mounts the pulpit, and makes a dry sermon of the use and honour of the Pall, without either language or matter; all admiring the jejuneſs of his diſcourſe, as if putting off his parts, when putting on his Pall.

He made the breach formerly between England and Rome, by exaſperating both ſides: he now reconciles it, obliging many by his carriage, awing as many by his preſence, dazzling all by his pomp and ſplendour. Now he confirmeth the inſtitution of clergy-men into their benefices; he legitimateth the children of forbidden marriages; he ratifieth the proceſſes and ſentences in matters eccleſiaſtical; and his diſpenſations were confirmed by act of parliament.

Two things he was intent upon:

1. The church-privileges; whereof one he procured was, that the clergy ſhould not ſhew their horſes with the layty, but under captains of their own chuſing.

2. The Spaniſh intereſt; and therefore Paul the fourth, who was as intent upon the French, and looked upon the legate as the principal promoter of the laſt war in France, ſends cardinal Perito to eaſe him of his legantine power in England.

land. But the queen so ordered the matter, that Q. Mary
 by her prerogative she prohibited Peito entrance
 into England, and got the aforesaid power estab-
 lished and confirmed on cardinal Pool, as she did
 likewise 1000 l. a year for his better support out
 of the bishoprick of Winchester. The more he
 lived in England, the more he was Italianized;
 conversing with their merchants, and practising
 their thrift; his pomp being (saith my author)
 rather gaudy than costly, and his attendance more
 ceremonious than expensive. Fearfull he was
 of a bank here, (if queen Mary died) careful
 of one beyond sea if he lived: therefore as he
 sends all his estate to Italy by his will when he
 died, so he did most of it by bills of exchange
 while he lived: the first was judged his policy,
 (the heart whereof is prevention) the second his
 gratitude, bestowing his superfluities on them
 who had relieved his necessities. Of all his estate,
 Aloisius Priol took but the breviary he had al-
 wayes in his pocket, so devout he was, and the
 diary he had always in his closet, so exact he was
 to observe what was done by others, and recollect
 what had escaped himself! Die he did not of Ita-
 lian physick wilfully taken by himself, as Mr.
 Fox suggests; nor of English poison, given him
 by the protestants, as Osorius affirms; but of
 a *Quartain* ague, then epidemical in England,
 and malignant above the ordinary nature of that
 disease. This man was a catholick in his interest
 and charity, and a protestant in his conscience.
We cannot (was his saying) *give too much to God's*
grace, nor too little to our own merits. He said
 when he came to England, *I came hither not to*
condemn, but reconcile; not to compel, but desire.
 He

Q. Mary He would burn the ashes of one or two protestants when dead, to avoid the suspicion of heresie; but the bodies of none when alive, to contract the real guilt of cruelty. In council found were his debates for the main; circumspect his suggestions of circumstances; reaching his foresight of consequences; wary his precautions of Impediments; moderate and soft his advices; prompt and steady his expeditions; happy his memory; many his observations; large his reading; strong his spirit; solid his judgment; sharp his apprehension, fluent, but weighed; full, but pertinent: grave, but quick his discourse: what he pronounced, was a decree with queen Mary: what he said was law with king Philip: his naked proposition was demonstration: his word reason, fetched from the principles of things, and grounded on their causes. His modesty never sued for greatness, though that sued for him: for great men he said were slaves to six things: 1. To mens humours; 2. To business; 3. To fortune; 4. To their own followers; 5. To fame; and, 6. To the publick. I will say no more of him, but that *modesty undoeth a maid*, and is the fool only that puts vertue out of countenance. Bashfulness is at best but a weak and treacherous vertue.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Ruffel.

HIS name and his valour is as ancient as the ^{Lloyd.} conquest; vertue flowing in every age of that family with its honour and worth, keeping pace with their advancements. In every man that we meet with, there are three things that immediately offer themselves to our consideration:

1. The mind.
2. The behaviour. And
3. The person.

His mind was befriended by nature with a quickness and a capaciousness, helped by publick education to a solidity and stayedness, improved in travel by observation, and raised by the slow, but happy degrees of his preferments to skill and experience. *They had need be slow and wary in that place where there is no failing the second time, the first error being irremediable*; therefore well ordered policy imitateth nature, which worketh slowly, and step by step, causing the blade to come from the grain, the tree from the graft, the blossom from the tree, and the fruit from the blossom: so (saith my author) ought policy to raise great persons from one degree to another; to the end, that having made their essays in meaner matters, they may finish their master-

Q. Mary master-pieces in more eminent affairs. 2. He that demeans himself well, is ever ushered in by a friend that recommends him to the company that knew him not.

Sir John had a *moving* beauty that waited on his whole body, as that standing one doth upon the face and complexion: such a grace and comeliness waited on his noble mein, as exacted a liking, if not a love from all that beheld him.

A midling clarity and quickness is best in wine, that is, neither too thick upon the lees, nor yet too quick: our knight's comportment and carriage was neither dull nor vapouring, neither gross nor affected, but of a becoming temper, at equal distance with the clown and the pedant, what's contemptible, and what's invidious. 3. But both these were set off with his person, of a middle stature, neither tall to a formidableness, nor short to a contempt: straight and proportioned, vigorous and active, with that pure blood and spirits that flowed and flowered within his swelling veins, and disposed him to these natural and innocent, those manly and noble exercises of dancing, &c. Dancing, I say, which he was not exquisite in, for that is vanity: nor ignorant of, for that's meaness; but a graceful exercise, (wherein he were carelessly easie, as if it were rather natural motion, than curious and artificial practising) which endeared his severer vertues to that place where the worth that riseth must be complaisant and pleasing, as well as serviceable and useful. But the favour which proceeds from personal grace and comeliness, although it seem to be doubly united, yet it is that which is soonest dissolved and dissipated, there being nothing so inconstant as
mens

mens humours, which not onely change through
ages, but also by some small occasion or ac-
cident which may arise: Sir John therefore
brought himself into court by what humoured,
but kept himself in there by those things that did
oblige him; and stood not upon his majesties
pleasure but his interest; adding to his more aiery
courtships, more solid employments. From the
softer court therefore we must follow him to the
camp, and that before Terwyn, where we finde
him daring and active. 1. In skirmishing the
French every day; 2. In recovering the red gun
overthrown in a line from 10000 French, under
the earl St. Paul as general, with 250 resolute re-
formades under himself but captain; although
he was once taken prisoner, as before Calice,
where he redeemed himself from the officer that
had taken him for 250 crowns, on condition he
would conduct him safe from the French quarter,
as the man did, until they were gone so far, that
sir John takes him prisoner, compelling him to
the reimbursement of his money, with 200
crowns more, to be bestowed on the common
souldiers. As severely active was he at the siege
of Tournay, as the oldest souldier; and yet as
innocently pleasant at the mask there, as the
youngest courtier. One of the sixty he was that
went with the king to cut off the passage between
that city and the army, and one of the eleven
that went with his majesty to entertain the ladies
at Lisse. From serving one king in France, he had
the honour as it was thought to kill another in
England, (I mean James of Scotland) and chal-
lenge a third in Paris. The same thing raised
him, that advanced Wolsey: for he being sent to
Max-

Q. Mary Maximilian, (after treasurer Naphant had brought him to court) dispatched his business so soon, that the king chid him for not being gone, when he was returned; and withal asked him, whether he had seen the post that he had sent after him about a circumstance that had escaped him? He answered, he met him in his return; but he had presumed to adde that particular of his own head, for which he asked his majesties pardon, and had his favour too for the deanery of Lincoln, and the almonership. Sir John was commanded with 1500 men to cut off the convoy to Terwyn: which he performed with that speed and success, that when the king saw him, he said, *I, I, sir John, while we are fooling, the town is relieved. So it is indeed,* (said he) *for I have sent them 2000 carcases, and they have spared me 1200 wagons of provision. I but,* said the king, *I sent after you to cut off the bridge Dreban. That,* replied the knight, *was the first thing I did: wherefore I am upon my knees for your majesties grace and pardon. Nay then,* (said the king) *by Lady, thou hast not my pardon, but my favour too.* “He is the man for a prince’s service, whose minde is present, and prudence is ready to meet with suddain occasions, and accommodate unexpected emergencies.” The first effect of that favour, was his nomination for one of the sixteen that answered the French challenge at the lady Mary’s marriage, at Paris, November 7, 1513, which shewed his manhood, and how valiant he was. The second was, that he was one of the forty five that were to be about his majesty at the instant of his interview with the king of France at Guînes; which was an argument of his presence, and how goodly a man he was.

was. The third was, that he was one of the twenty two that with the earl of Surrey lord admiral, and sir William Fitz-Williams Vice-admiral, proposed that secret, and therefore successful designe upon Britain, under pretence of *scouring the narrow seas*, (for now he is as good in the sea as he had been in the field) for which he and eight more of his fellow captains, sir John Cornwallis, &c. are knighted by the aforesaid lord admiral: which speaks him a seaman, and indeed one of a general capacity. The fourth was, the great trust his majesty reposed in him, when he was sent in disguise to widen the difference that was newly broken out between the duke of Bourbon, the high constable of France, and the French king; which he managed so well, that the discontented duke declares for the emperor and the king of England, to the great encouragement of the English, the satisfaction of his majesty, and the success of his designe upon Anchor, Boungeard, Bray, and other places, where sir John shewed himself as active now, as he was before cunning, as much surpassing the French spirit in action, as he had over-reached their prudence in negotiation.

But in vain was it to serve that king, unless a man obliged the cardinal, (he that courts the Virgin Mary must not neglect her little saints) him he attended in his second journey to France, first to honour, and then to serve him. And now after his decease, when king Henry had done the work of mercy (which was most proper for himself, as being most popular) upon the Lincolnshire rebels, he deputed the duke of Suffolk, sir Francis Brians and sir John Ruffel to

Q. Mary perform that of justice, which is most distastful :
 wherein yet he behaves himself with that exactness, that the country was very well pleased, and the king as well satisfied ; insomuch that we find our knight now called from a commander in the field, to be controller at court : where he managed his master's expences thriftily, reduced his family discreetly, reformed his followers effectually, and filled up his place with the awe of his presence, and the influence of his authority, that he was at once its support and its glory. Indeed courts being those epitomes where-through strangers look into kingdoms, should be royally set off as with utensils, so with attendance, that might possess all comers with reverence there, and fear elsewhere.

His person graced his employment, and therefore his majesty honoured his person with the order of the garter, and the title of lord Russel; and that his preferment might keep pace with his honour, he is made lord privy seal, and his nephew sir John Cage, controller. His honour slackened not his activity, but improved it ; neither was his vertue onely violent in ambition, and dull in authority. Power to do good, is the true and lawful end of aspiring : therefore my lord to his *staff*, added his sword ; and to his court-honour, his field-service, as lieutenant-general before Muret, and marshal before Bulloign ; to the relief of the first whereof, he drew monsieur * Bies, that his majesty might take the second. In the camp he drew up the designs, in the field he managed the treasure, and in action to him was intrusted the conduct and manage. In the king's last

* Governor of Bies,

last will and testament he was the fifth person, Q. Mary and in his son's council the fifth; to whom he discovered a French plot the *first* year of his reign, and for whom he broke the Devonshire rebels, what with delays, what with stratagems, to divide them according to their several inclinations, the *second*, for which service he was made earl of Bedford: the third, in the faction at home between the Seymours and the Dudleys, he was neuter: in the treaties abroad between the French king and his majesty of England, he was principal; where he observed three rules: 1. That there should be a general muster at home while this treaty went on abroad. 2. That there should be a blow given the Scots before there was a peace made with the French. 3. That we should first know the French overtures before we made our own.

But while he was here, he discovered a plot that the emperour had to transport the lady Mary over to his dominions, and thereby bring her brother to his terms: whereupon he with 200 men watched one port, the duke of Somerset with 200 more a second, and master St. Leiger with 400 men a third, while the lady was fetched by my lord chancellor to the king. But while he was serving his master the king abroad, his friend the protector wanted his advice and assistance at home, he being of purpose sent out of the way, while that unfortunate duke is first betrayed by his own folly, and then ruined by his enemies power. I finde his hand among the rest of the counsellors in a letter to queen Mary, but not in arms against her. He was concluded by the major vote to a commission for peace, but

Q. Mary not to *action* for conscience sake. Faithful he is therefore to her in council, and serviceable in Spain and France; from the first of which places he brought her a husband, and from the second a treasure. He understood her right, and disputed not her religion: regarding not so much her opinion, as his own duty; not what she was, but what he should be. And thus he behaved himself, until his dear mistress Elizabeth took him for one of her protestant counsellours to balance her popish ones: and not onely of her council, but of her cabinet: (for as every man must have his friend to ease his heart, so princes have their favourites to partake of their cares) and the marques of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, and sir William Cecil, were the onely persons to whom the queen communicated her designe of reformation, and correcting the common-prayer, and they ordered affairs so, that the protestants should be in hope, and yet the papists should not be out of hope.

King Philip had a quarrel with the queen for rejecting his suit, the king of Sweden for slighting his son, the king of France in his wives right, the queen of Scots in her own, and the pope for excluding his supremacie; her subjects were as unsettled in their loyalty as in their religion: what remained? but that my lord of Bedford and sir William Cecil should make up a well-tempered house of commons by their interest, who should carry along an indifferent house of lords by their *Resolution?*

When he had served the queen in parliament for the settlement of her kingdom at home, he served the kingdome in an embassie to Scotland, to set up its correspondence abroad. The

The earl of Liecester aimed at the queen of Q. Mary England, and the earl of Bedford, to divert him and secure Scotland, designed him for the queen of Scots; whom he watched for two things: 1. That she should either match with an English subject, or 2. With a soft and weak forreigner; that either the Scots might be in league with us, or have no peace at home.

His last service I finde is a complement, when he was sent by the queen as her deputy, with a font of massie gold worth 1043*l.* to hold king James at his baptism with expresse command not to acknowledge my lord Darnley as king. This his service was as lasting as his life, which ended in old age and renown. He conveyed his vertue and honour to the excellent Francis, as he did to the right honourable William earl of Bedford, now living.

Observations on the Life of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

TH E tuition of the earl of Dorset's children Lloyd. raised Wolsey; travelling with the duke of Norfolk's raised Gardiner: Fox his service in the quality of secretary, made the first; and his in the same quality, made Gardiner.

There are three kinds of understanding; the one that is advised by its self; the second, that understandeth when it is informed by another; the third, that neither is advised by its self, nor
the

Q. Mary by the assistance of another. If this doctor failed in the first, and his own invention, he exceeded in the second, of making use of others; for he was one of them that never heard or read what was not his own. His profession was the civil law, that guideth forreign negotiations: His Inclination was that general policy that manageth them.

His eminencies were three:

1. His reservedness: whereby he never did what he aimed at, never aimed at what he intended, never intended what he said, and never said what he thought; whereby he carried it so, that others should do his business, when they opposed it; and he should undermine theirs, when he seemed to promote it. A man that was to be traced like the fox, and read like Hebrew, backward: if you would know what he did, you must observe what he did not.

2. His boldness. Authority sometimes meets with those impediments, which neither power can overcome, nor good fortune divert, if courage and fortitude break not through and surmount them; and the motions of the irascible faculties, such as hope, boldness, and choler, being well ordered, and conducted by reason, engage those difficulties she encountereth in the execution of her designs: reason discovered him his enterprizes, his will enclined him to them, and the noble transports of his regular passions set out both with that ardour and vehemencie, as bear down obstacles, and compass the design: a hope he had, that never rashly engaged him in desperate undertakings, an audacity that precipitated him not weakly into impossibilities; and a choler that led him not blindly to inevitable ruines: consideration

tion managing the first, discretion and foresight the second, and reason the third. What doth it avail a man to be wise, in knowing what is fit to be done ; prudent, to invent means ; just, to appropriate affairs to publick good ; authorized and happy, to cause them to succeed ; if a courage guided by reason, accompanied with prudence, ruled by discretion, animated by a generous boldness, be not diligent, quick and prompt for execution ? His nature was generous and constant ; his education (like that of the Roman youth among statesmen) manifold and solid : his soul was free, and dis-engaged from any particular design.

3. Eloquence ; that added to his parts what colours do to a picture ; state, grace and light : reason is the ornament of a man, speech the Interpreter of reason, and eloquence the grace of speech ; wherein the orator excelleth other men, as much as they do other creatures. His wisdom advised, his prudence contrived, his courage resolved, and his eloquence perswaded ; adding at once gracefulness to his designs, and vigour to his enterprizes ; as that wherewith he could satisfy mens reasons, and master their passions, by which he carried them whither he pleased : His lively expression animates his reason, his eloquence his expression, and his gesture his eloquence ; whereby he charmed the senses, mollified hearts, incited affections, framed desires, checked hopes, and exercised a sacred empire over every man he dealt with.

These qualities improved with travel, raised the doctor to be the chancellour's secretary, and the legan-

Q. Mary* legantine courts chief scribe at home, a sly agent in Italy, a successful orator in Germany, and leiger ambassador in France. In Italy, he with doctor Fox (having the king of France his agent to second them) gained the Popes commission for hearing of the cause between king Henry the VIII, and queen Katherine.

In Germany he undermined the French king, and in France the emperour.

Upon the poor Pope (whom he found not worth 20l.) perplexed between the king of England, who had set him at liberty, and the king of Spain, who had maintained him, he wrought so far, as to gain a dubious letter in cypher to the king, and a clear promise to the cardinal, both about the suppression of some monasteries, and the divorce; which the crafty agent extorted from the fearful man, with his *necesse est*, &c. although all this while he palliated this his main business, with some impertinent overtures about king Henry the seventh's Canonization: None better understanding the just degrees, seasons and methods of affairs, than this doctor: where he spoke one word for his majesties divorce, he spoke two for the cardinal's advancement, having the French king's letter with him to that effect, in *omnem eventum*: In order whereunto he threatened the Pope from Germany, and Germany from Rome, so that their mutual jealousies forced them to a compliance with his royal and sacred master. A great agent he was in this business while Wolsey's secretary, a greater when the king's; in which capacity he writ, they say, one book for the Pope's supremacie in his master's name, and another for the king's in his own.

He

* kept at Black Fryars.

He draweth the kingdom's remonstrance against Q. Mary the pope, wherein he hath one shrewd argument; to this purpose those sacra or wayes of religion that have any thing in them in any nation against the light of nature, and the being of humane society were severely animadverted on by the Romans upon this principle, that it was to be supposed that God's religion should interfere with government which is God's institution, and that way of religion which hath inwoven in it principles that make the ecclesiastical power a competitor with the civil, and the pope's against the kingdom: He and doctor Fox are employed to gain the vote of Cambridge for the divorce; where he brought it from the negative to even voices, and from even voices to a disputation, and upon that, to a determination on the king's side: for which we find him now Bishop of Winchester, archbishop Crahmer's assistant at pronouncing the divorce at the priory of Dunstable, and one of the two ambassadors at the interview between king Francis and king Henry.

As he had declared himself by writing, so he drew up a form whereby others might declare themselves by oath for the king's supremacy: and as he owneth the king's authority, so he maintained it in his apology for Fisher's death.

But because no power is lasting, when religion is not venerable, the wary bishop promotes the statutes of six articles in the house of commons in spite of Cromwell and Cranmer; and urgeth the retaining of some essential latin * words in the translation, in the convocation; words, for their
genuine

* As Ecclesia, poenitentia, Episcopus, sacrificium, Pontifex.


Q. Mary genuine and native meaning, and for the majesty of the matter in them contained, not to be Englished: though he could not keep the word from shining, yet he had wit enough to keep it in a dark lanthorn, to keep the laity at their distance, and bear up the will-worship of Rome.

Had he kept here, king Henry had been satisfied; but when his success improved his boldness, and that precipitated his undertakings, he must be quarreling with the protestant queens, and so fall out with the uxorious king, under whose displeasure he continued while he lived, as he did under his sons afterwards: (first, for refusing a confession of his fault, and then for not subscribing some articles proposed unto him, though he owned the supremacy, the reformation, and said of the common-prayer, *That tho' he would not have made it so himself, yet he found in it such things as satisfied his conscience; and therefore he would both execute it himself, and cause others of his * Parishioners to do it; and if he were troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reason openly against it:*) so that he lost his liberty and his bishoprick, untill he was restored to both by queen Mary, (who kissed and called him her prisoner in the tower) and likewise advanced him to the chancellourship; wherein he did more harm by others than himself; keeping alwayes behinde the curtain, and acting in Oxford by visitors, in London by Bonner, and in his own diocess by suffragans; onely in two particulars he declared himself:

1. Against the princess Elizabeth: saying, *In vain it is to lop the Branches, while the Root remains.*

2. Against

* Viz. those of his Diocess.

2. Against the *Exiles*: threatening that *be Q. Mary* would watch their supplies, so that they should eat  their nails, and then feed on their fingers ends.

But *tbreatned Folks* live long; and before the confessors were brought to that bill of fare, the bishop was eaten of worms himself, dying suddenly and strangely; wholly a protestant in the point of merit, who had been in other things so zealous a papist.

One piece at once of his prudence and resolution, and I have done: the lord protector by letters solicited Gardiner to resign Trinity-Hall to the king's hand, who designed one colledge out of that and Clare-Hall: "Most politick
 " Gardiner (saith my author) not without cause
 " suspecting some design or casualty might surprize the interval between the dissolution of
 " the old, and the erection of this new foundation, civilly declined the motion, informing
 " his grace, that *the way to advance the study of*
 " *the Law, was by promoting the present Professors of that Faculty, (now so generally discouraged, and not by founding a new Colledge for*
 " *the future Students thereof; seeing Trinity Hall*
 " *alone could breed more Civilians than all England did prefer according to their deserts.*

Observations on the Life of Sir William Herbert.

Lloyd.

HIS family had not endeared its self to the ancient kings by its service, nor his grandfather himself to king Henry the seventh by his relation, more than *He did Himself* to king Henry the eighth by his merit. He was a great pattern of antient virtue, that in the greatest fortune enjoyed the least liberty: vigilant and careful: one whose power was attended with sollicitude, (*there was an Eye in the ancient Scepters*) and his sollicitude with temperance; (he that commands himself, commands the world too.) While some mens imprudent integrity can do no harm, and others base cunning can do no good; sir William's prudence and integrity was equally able for both, as there was occasion. Very close and successful were his and my lord Sheffield's negotiations abroad: very resolute and manly his conduct at home. He was one of the twenty four counsellours to Henry the eighth while he lived, and one of the sixteen executors of his will when he died. All great undertakers must avoid softness and effeminacie, the bane of great natures and actions: for where there is love and pleasure, there is fear; and where there is fear, there is that which enchains generosity and confines courage.

He

He had his double diary; the first for actions, *Q. Mary* the second for observations upon them: and indeed his and sir William Kingston's manuscripts give a great light to the history of those times: in which diary we finde what actions he did against the Scots by constant alarms with three thousand Welch, and what against Ket's rebels by notable stratagems with two thousand. The man is compleat that hath a head and a heart.

As to the faction in king Edward's time, he would not concern himself, looking on accusations in a commonwealth as great advantages to check ambition, and vent discontent; that the one may not aspire too dangerously, nor the other break out too irregularly. And as little concerned was he in king Edward's will; his business being rather obeying the sovereign *that was*, than determining who *should be*.

He was a thoroughly advised man; one that gazed not on the issues, but enquired into the reasons and spring of actions.

Very useful he was in queen Mary's council, and no less in king Philip's war, where he got St. Quintin for him, and a lasting renown for himself: who died in queen Elizabeth's time, and left this plain character behinde, *That he was a noble Gentleman, of a trusty, a free and an open Nature.*

Observations on the Lives of Sir Thomas Mannors, and Sir Ralph Evers.

Lloyd

I Joyn them both in my observations, because they agreed both in their dispositions :

1. Both nobly religious, and so blessed themselves, and being a blessing unto others : their religion was attended with magnanimity, constancy, wisdom, prudence, valour and counsel, as the products of it ; and with success as the issue.

2. Both famous and renowned ; having honour, as the shadow doth the sun, going before them in their younger years, to make their way to action ; keeping even with them in their middle age, to countenance and credit their proceedings ; and following them in old age to eternize and embalm them : both making their way to honour as *Agefilaus* in *Plutarch*, or *Epietetus* in *Strabo*, by saying what was well, and doing what was better ; or with *Socrates*, by being what they appeared, and appearing no more than they were : (vertue, though obscure, may satisfie me ; it must be renowned, or it cannot serve others :) but action is the life of things, and good dispositions are rather a man's inclinations than his vertue. Both therefore are in their courage regular, in their conduct observant, in their addressees obliging, in their passions even, in their enjoyments severe, and in their services equal.

Sir

Sir Thomas Mannors first weakened the * nor- Q. Mary
thern rebels, by such discreet propositions as met
with many of their humours and interests, and
then resolved to engage them, but that the little
brook Dun swelled miraculously to a river, be-
tween both armies: and at the same time sir
Ralph Evers held Scarborough-castle, where he
had no souldiers but his own servants, nor any
sustenance for twenty days, but bread and water.
For this service he is made lord warden of the
marches, as sir Thomas is lord governour of the
north.

Both did his majesty as much service in peace
for his revenue, as in war for his security: both
against the cardinal's way of raising money,
which was but the relieving of a present need by
laying the foundation of a lasting inconvenience;
being very careful that their master did not lose
in the president what he gained in the money.

Observations on the Life of Sir John Baker.

THere is one of this name *remarqueable* in every Lloyd.
king's reign since the conquest; here is one
now *renowned* in this: 1. For integrity, to be
neither awed nor corrupted: 2. For a spirit pub-
lick as nature, neither moved with particular
respects, nor terminated in a private design.

Z

The

* In King Henry the Eighth's time, when they rose
against the Reformation.

Q. Mary The French were so insolent in London the eighth year of Henry the eighth, that when one Williamson a carpenter, was about to pay for two pigeons he bought, a Frenchman takes them out of his hand, saying, *They were no meat for Carpenters, but for my Lord Embassadour*; who concerned himself so much in the case, that he had Williamson imprisoned: sir John sued the embassador for the man, who answered, *That the English Knave deserved to be hanged for denying any thing to a French man*. Whereupon sir John replied, *You know not that you are in London*: a notable reply, considering that the city was up next day against strangers, in so desperate a tumult, that none could suppress but sir Thomas More, and none settle but sir William Kingston and sir John Baker. No sooner had he allayed the disorder at home, but he with the bishop of St. Asaph, are sent to appease a rebellion abroad, I mean in Denmark, though in vain; when the king's cruelty exceeded their apology, and *ruine* was more elegiable with that people, than *duty* or *obedience*: where he observed these six maximes, in order to a newly conquer'd kingdome:

1. That the royal line should be extinguished.
2. That the old customs in lawes and taxes should be observed.
3. The prince must be there to observe their humours in person.
4. That the officers be moderate and honest.
5. That there be colonies planted in one or two places that are the keys of the state.
6. That the neighbours should be weakned and diyided, and the in-land forts demolished.

As

As he would have composed the troubles of Q. Mary forreign princes, so he served the necessities of his own, being the most successful commissioner for the benevolence in the countrey; and the most active agent for the loan in London: wherefore I finde him chancellour of the exchequer, Anno 1545, and one of the assistants to the trustees for king Edward, 1547.

Judge Mountague was the onely person that durst dispute king Edward's will: judge Hales and sir John Baker were the onely counsellours that durst refuse it; the first whereof stood to the law, against power; the second, to his allegiance against interest; and both to the rights of the crown which are lasting, rather than the designs of some favourites that are as momentary as their greatness, and as uncertain as their grandeur.

This constant and firm resolution to stick to his duty and loyalty, brought him to his grave in peace and honour; having been a faithful counsellour and servant to king Henry the eighth, king Edward the sixth, queen Mary and queen Elizabeth.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Kingston.

HE was one of the greatest courtiers at Lloyd. masks and revels, one of the best captains at sea, and one of the most valiant and skilful commanders by land. None more pleasing to
Z. 2. the

Q. Mary the English ladies, none more terrible to the French king. Cunningly did he discover the king of Spain's design upon Navarre to his majesty, by pretending a revolt to that king of Spain; and as cunningly did he draw the French troops into a snare by counterfeiting a retreat towards Britany. His advice had saved the admiral at Brest, and his foresight did rescue sir Edward Belknap near Guisnes. He was knighted for his service at Tournay, and made marshal for his success at Flodden. He was one of them that perswaded the city to its duty at * Shore-ditch; and if that would not do he was to command it from the Tower; being commissioner in the first place, Aug. 2, and lieutenant of the second, Sept. 6, (*The multitude is rather to be awed than reasoned with.*) Some princes have disarmed their subjects, others have divided them, a third sort have obliged them; others yet have kept up plots against them: but all have built and commanded fortresses to secure themselves it were well if *love did*, it's necessary that *fear should* guide this world. The king condescended one day to just with him; and he, though invincible, to fall by his majesty, (you must let a prince be a prince in every thing.) So complaisant he was, that he was one of the six maskers at court at 50; and yet so grave, that when divers young men that were familiar with the king after the French mode were banished, he kept his station, as one of the *stayed men*, at 30. He was one of the 16 that attended the king in his first interview with the emperour; and one of the 40 that waited on him in the two last with the king of France; narrowly esca-

* When the rising was there.


escaping at the last that poison as some thought, Q. Mary or ill vapours, as others conclude, whereof the open-hearted lord Brooks, the valiant sir Edward Poynings, reserved sir John Pechy, and active sir Edward Belknap, died; whereupon by his advice, all Frenchmen were put to their fines, and all Scotch to their ransome. Neither was he only for shew, but service too, leading the right wing of the army at Guisnes, when sir Everard Digby commandeth the left, and lord Sands the vanguard, Sir Edward Guilford then marshal of Callis the horse, sir Richard Winkfield the rear, and the duke of Suffolk the main battle. Where his assaults on Cappe and Roy speak him a soldier, as his underhand correspondence with the lord Ililstein argued him a statesman.

Sir Thomas Manners the first earl of Rutland of that name discovered, and sir William Kingston told his majesty the cardinals plots against the king's marriage with queen Anne, and his designe to marry him to the Dutches of Alan-
zon: a design that because it seemed to overreach his majesty in cunning, and really did cross his inclination in malice, that incensed his majesty to a passion which could be appeased with no less a sacrifice than the cardinal's fall: in order to which the next service of this knight, is as lieutenant of the tower to take him to custody: which he did at Leicester with a noble resolution, considering that man's greatness, with a due reverence regarding his calling, and with a tender compassion respecting his condition; perswading him gently of the king's *favour*, at that very time when he was come to be an instrument of his *justice*. And what he did to a cardinal now, he did to queens.

Q. Mary afterwards ; never prince commanded higher services than king Henry, nor subjects discharging them more undauntedly than sir William : because therefore he was so severe a lieutenant in the tower, he is a made provost-marshal in the field ; in which capacity, after the Devonshire rebels defeat, we have these two remarkable stories of him.

1. One Bowyer, Mayor of Bodmin in Cornwall, had been amongst the rebels, not willingly, but enforced ; to him the provost sent word he would come and dine with him ; for whom the mayor made great provision. A little before dinner the provost took the mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, that an execution must that day be done in the town, and therefore he must set up two gallows. The mayor did so. After dinner sir William Kingston thanks him for his entertainment, and then desires him to bring him to the gallows : where when they were come, sir William asked him whether they were strong enough ; *I, I'll warrant thee*, saith the mayor. *Then*, saith sir William, *get you up upon them, I hope*, saith the mayor, *you do not mean as you speak*. *Nay, sir*, saith he, *you must die ; for you have been a busie rebel*. And so without more ado hanged him.

2. A miller that had been very active in the late rebellion, fled, and left another to take his name upon him. Sir William Kingston calls for the miller, his servant tells him that he was the man. *Then*, saith he, *you must be hanged*. *Oh sir*, saith he, *I am not the miller*. *If you are not the miller, you are a lying knave : if you are the miller you are a trayterous one, and however you must dye*. And so he did. Punish

Punish the multitude severely once, and you Q. Mary oblige them ever: for they love that man only  for his good-nature, whom they fear for his resolution.

Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Cheyney.

THREE things advised men in king Henry Lloyd. the eighth's days: 1. Their extraction: 2. Their wit: 3. Their comeliness and strength. For the first, his name was up since Battle-Abbey-Roll; as to the second, it was enough that he travelled with Wolsey: and touching the third, there need be no other instance than that at Paris, where upon the Dauphin's proclamation of solemn jousts, the duke of Suffolke, the marques of Dorset, sir Edward Nevil and he, answered the challenge; as not long after he encountered king Henry himself at Greenwich, where he had the great honour of a strong and valiant knight, and a greater of being overthrown by his majesty.

Having engaged his majesty's person at home, he had the honour to represent it abroad: where his commission was to complement the French king about his liberty, but his business to observe the state of that place: where he saw that a kingdom governed by a prince who hath under him other independent lords, as that of France, is no longer safe, than those lords are either in humour, or in purse; being always in danger either from
their

Q. Mary their discontent or corruption : 2. That faction is always eager, while duty is modest and temperate.

This occasion ennobled his vertue, and his vertue improved the occasion so well, that I finde him so eminent a parliament-man the 22d of king Henry, that as sir Brian Tuge had the honour to open the severall boxes sent from the respective universities, with their opinions about the king's divorce : so sir Thomas had the happiness in a set speech to insist upon them all in general; and every one in particular. And at queen Anne's coronation my lord Vaux, sir John Mordant, sir Thomas, and ten more, are made knights of the Bath.

Having acquitted himself nobly in court and council, he attends the earl of Hertford against the Scots, as commissary ; and sir John Wallop with sir John Rainsford, as marshal : for his services in both which capacities, he is made lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in England ; and with the comptroller, sir John Gage, made field-marshal, and treasurer of the army before Bulloign : and not long after, treasurer of the household, and one of the assistants for the overseeing of king Henry's will.

When some were joyning others with the protector, others for limiting him, sir Thomas would say, That (as Machiavel saith, *No laws, so*) *No good can be done by a governour that was not absolute, without either a restraint or a competitor.*

Upon the reformation he would say, That *the disesteem of religious ceremonies argued the decay of the civil government ; good princes have first kept*

kept their people religious, and thereby vertuous and united: both old and new Rome stand by this. Q. Mary

In a word; what makes all men, made him, a generous industry of minde, and a well-set hardiness of body, which were attended while he lived with honour and success, and since he is dead, with repute and renown.

Where eminent and well-born persons out of a habit of sloath and laziness, neglect at once the noblest way of employing their times, and the fairest occasions of advancing their fortunes; that state, though never so flourishing and glorious, wants something of being compleatly happy: as soon as ever therefore a kingdom is settled (sedate times are the best to improve a common-wealth, as his quiet hours are the best to improve a man) he and sir William Howard addressed themselves as vigorously to the opening of commerce and traffick, for the enriching of this nation, as they had before to the exercise of arms, to secure it; pursuing the design with resolution, and keeping the frame of it in order with industry, their constant spirit surmounting all difficulties that stood in the way of their own glory, or their countrey's happiness; working so well upon the Russians, that they not onely obtained their desire, but gained so far upon the affections of that people, that they obtained the greatest priviledges any tradesmen ever enjoyed in Muscovy; which the Russians were not easier in the promise of, than just in the execution of that promise: so that the trade is advanced not onely beyond our hopes, but our very pretences too, by those three particulars that never fail of success: 1. Union: 2. Conduct: 3. Courage in enter-

Q Mary enterprizes vigorously begun and watchfully pursued: until queen *ELIZABETH* concerned her self so far in the undertaking, as to influence it with a character peculiar to the dignity of such a constitution: which carried that commerce higher than others could raise their imaginations, as we see; whose profit by it is as remarkable in this age, as their zeal for it was in the last: when fear and distrust, those ignoble passions that disparage all great undertakings, which judged that design a piece of extravagant folly, seeth it now an act of profound wisdom; especially when it may be improved under *CHARLES* the second and the great, a prince who by admirable order of his conduct, the just administration of his revenue, and by his fatherly goodness towards his people, hath put himself into a condition to undertake without fear whatsoever may be put in execution with honour or justice.

The End of the Observations upon the Lives
of the Statesmen and Favourites of Eng-
land in the Reign of Queen Mary.

THE
STATES - MEN
AND
FAVOURITES
OF
ENGLAND,
IN

The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Observations on the Life of
Queen *ELIZABETH.*

TO display in few words the elogy of this illustrious queen, it seems to be sufficient to observe, that her name is still of blessed memory with the English, now when flattery cannot be supposed to have any share in the veneration they pay her. But Elizabeth banished from England the catholick religion, and restored the reformation. This alone was the cause that two parties

Q. Eliz. parties have been formed on her account, who mutually tax each other with flattery or animosity. The Protestants considering that this queen was the sole bulwark of their religion, which probably without her would have been destroyed in England, Scotland, Ireland, and perhaps in France and the Low-Countries, cannot forbear giving her great commendations, and feel themselves inclined to excuse her failings. For the same reason, the Roman Catholics look upon her with another eye; nay, some have not scrupled to paint her in the blackest colours, and give her the most odious epithets. This makes it impossible to give her a character, that shall please all the world. I shall content myself (says Rapin) therefore with making some reflections which will assist those who seek only truth, to pass an impartial judgment on this famous queen, free from party-passion and prejudice.

Elizabeth had great sense, and a judgment naturally sound and solid. This appeared in her whole conduct, from the beginning to the end of her reign. Nothing shews her capacity more, than her address in surmounting the difficulties and troubles created by her enemies, especially when it is considered, what these enemies were, the most powerful, the most artful, the most subtle, and the least scrupulous in Europe. The bare naming of them is a sufficient demonstration. The court of Rome under several popes, Philip II. king of Spain, the duke of Alva, Henry II. and Charles IX. kings of France, Catharine de Medici, the duke of Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, Mary queen of Scots, all the Romish clergy, and particularly the Jesuits. Had her forces been
pro-



proportionable to those of her enemies united together, there would be nothing very extraordinary. Strength often supplies the want of capacity. But in what manner did she withstand, so potent, so formidable enemies? It was by two or three maxims which she made the rule of her conduct, and from which she never swerved: *To make herself beloved by her people: to be frugal of her treasure: to cherish dissention amongst her neighbours.* If things are rightly considered, she had no other way to secure herself. It cannot therefore be denied, that this is a clear evidence of her ability. But as her ability was never questioned, it is not this I am chiefly to describe. On the contrary, her enemies have taken occasion from thence to defame her, by representing as vices disguised, what her friends extol as so many virtues. They pretend, that her ability consisted wholly in an over-strained dissimulation, and a profound hypocrisy. In a word, they say she was a perfect comedian. For my part I don't pretend to deny that she made great use of dissimulation, as well to the courts of France and Spain as to the queen of Scotland and the Scots. This would be denying a manifest truth. The court of Rome was the only court she never dissimulated with. I am also persuaded, that being so much concerned to gain the love and esteem of her subjects, she affected to speak frequently, and with exaggeration, of her tenderness for them, and desired to have it believed, that she did thro' an excessive love to her people, things wherein her own interest was most concerned. But the question is to know, whether in her circumstances her dissimulation was blameable. What injury was

Q. Eliz. was it to her subjects to endeavour to persuade them, she loved them tenderly, since she actually and really did whatever was necessary to convince them? As to foreigners, it must be carefully observed, that her dissimulation and artifices tended not to invade their possessions, but to preserve her own. Her enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of her crown and life, and she saved both by her policy and dissimulation. Where is the harm of such a conduct? Can the dissimulation and artifices which aim only at self-preservation, be, without extreme prejudice, confounded with the dissimulation and artifices that tend to surprize the innocent, and invade the property of others; can these, I say, be considered upon the same foot? For my part I am so far from thinking that this sort of dissimulation is any blemish to Elizabeth's reputation, that I rather believe it ought to be reckoned among her commendable qualities.

Avarice is another failing imputed to her by her own friends. I will not deny that she was too parsimonious, and upon some occasions stuck too close to her maxim, not to be at any expence but what was absolutely necessary. However in general, I maintain, that her circumstances required her, if not to be covetous, at least not to part with her money, but with the greatest caution, both to preserve her people's affection, and enable her to withstand her enemies. After all, whom she did wrong by her extreme frugality? A dozen of hungry courtiers, who would have been very glad she had lavished her treasure, like the king her father, in the beginning of his reign. As for the rest of her subjects, instead of having

cause

cause to complain of this pretended avarice, they Q. Eliz.
had reason to be pleased with it, since it consisted not in robbing them of their property by illegal methods, as king Henry VII, her grandfather, had done, but in husbanding her revenues, and consequently their own.

She is also accused of not being so chaste as she affected to appear. Nay, some pretend, there are now in England the descendants of a daughter she had by the earl of Leicester. But as hitherto no proof of this accusation has been produced, it may be safely reckoned among the calumnies with which her reputation has been attacked, as well during her life, as after her death.

It is not so easy to justify her concerning the death of the queen of Scots. Here it must freely be owned, that she sacrificed equity, justice, and perhaps her own conscience to her safety. If Mary was guilty of her husband's murder, as there is reason to believe, it belonged not to Elizabeth to punish her. And indeed, it was not for that she took away her life, but she used that pretence to detain her in prison, under the deceitful excuse of making her innocence appear. On this occasion her dissimulation was blameworthy. This first injustice engaged her afterwards, to use numberless arts and devices to have a pretence to render Mary's imprisonment perpetual. Hence arose at last the necessity of putting her to death on the scaffold. In short, this excess of violence gave birth to more artifices and acts of dissimulation to justify herself, and cast the blame on the innocent. This doubtless, is Elizabeth's great blemish, which manifestly proves to what height she carried the fear
of

Q. Eliz. of losing a tottering crown. This continual fear and uneasiness, is what characterises her reign, because it was the spring of almost all her actions. All that can be said for Elizabeth, is, that the queen of Scots and her friends had brought things to such a point, that one of the two queens was to perish, and it was natural that the weakest should fall. But this does not excuse Elizabeth's injustice to Mary, in detaining her in prison, which had no other foundation than Elizabeth's fear concerning her crown.

I come now to Elizabeth's religion. I do not believe her being a true Protestant was ever questioned. But as it was her interest to be so, some have taken occasion to doubt whether the zeal she expressed for her religion, was the effect of her persuasion, or policy. What may have occasioned this doubt, is, that it clearly appears in her history, that in assisting the protestants of France and the Netherlands, as well as those of Scotland, she had only temporal views, namely, her own safety and defence against impending invasions. But it cannot thence be inferred, she was not a good protestant, or had no religion at all, since it is not impossible that her religion should agree with her temporal interest. All that can be said, is, that she happened sometimes to prefer her temporal, before her religious concerns. /

She is warmly accused of persecuting the catholicks, and putting several to death. It is true, there were some that suffered death in her reign. But one may venture to affirm, that none were punished but for conspiring against the queen or state, or for attempting to destroy the Protestant reli-

religion in England, and restore the Romish by violent methods. The catholicks, who lived peaceably, were tolerated, though with some restraint, as to the exercise of their religion, but with none, as to their consciences. If this may be called persecution, what name shall be given to the sufferings of the Protestants in the reign of Mary?

The Presbyterians think also, they have reason to complain of the statute enacted in this reign, which deprived them of liberty of conscience, though they were protestants. I shall not take upon me to determine, whether they had cause to complain of this rigour. I shall only say, that in my opinion, they had too much obstinacy, and their adversaries too little charity.

To sum up in two words what may serve to form Elizabeth's character, I shall add, that she was a good and illustrious queen, with many virtues and noble qualities, and few faults. But what she ought to be esteemed for above all things, is, that she caused the English to enjoy a felicity unknown to their ancestors, under most of the kings, her predecessors. This, doubtless, is the test, by which we are to judge of those whom God hath set over us.

Obser-

Observations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Lloyd.

S I R Nicholas Bacon, a man full of wit and wisdom, was a gentleman, and a man of law, and of great knowledge therein, whereby together with his other parts of learning and dexterity, he was prompted to be keeper of the great seal, and being kin to the treasurer Burleigh, was brought by his help into the queen's favour.

This gentleman understood his mistress well, and the times better : he could raise factions to serve the one, and allay them to suit the others. He had the deepest reach into affairs of any man that was at the council-table : the knottiest head to pierce into difficulties : the most comprehensive Judgement to surround the merit of a cause : the strongest memory to recollect all circumstances of a business to one view : the greatest patience to debate and consider ; (for it was he that first said, *Let us stay a little, and we will have done the sooner :*) and the clearest reason to urge any thing that came in his way in court or chancery. His favour was eminent with his mistress, and his alliance strong with her statesmen. No man served his sovereign more faithfully, none secured himself more wisely. Leicester seemed wiser than he was, Bacon was wiser than he seemed to be ; Hunsdon neither *was* nor *seemed* wise.

Much

Much learning my lord Bacon gained in Benet's Colledge in Cambridge, more experience in Paris of France: his dexterity and dispatch advanced him to the court of wards, his deep experience made him lord keeper. Alliance was the policy of that time. Bacon and Cecil married two sisters; Walsingham and Mildmay two more; Knowles, Essex and Leicester were linked; the prudent queen having all her favourites, relations and dependencies in her eye, and disposing of them according to their several interests. Great was this states-man's wit, greater the fame of it; which as he would say, *being nothing, made all things*: for report, though but fancy, begets opinion; and opinion begets substance. He was the exactest man to draw up a law in council, and the most discreet to execute it in court. When others urged the repeal of that act whereby queen Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, he rather suppressed it, chusing the closure of a festered wound more prudent than the opening of it; and judging it more wisdom to *satisfy* the world with the old law, *That the crown takes away all defects*; than to perplex it with new disputes, *Whether queen Elizabeth were legitimate*. State-miscarriages are rather to be privately connived at, than publickly redressed; the remedy it may be doing no more service than putting the people in minde of the mishap. He neither affected nor attained to greatness; *mediocria firma* was his principle and his practice. When queen Elizabeth asked him, *Why his house was so little?* he answered, *Madam my house is not too little for me, but you have made me too big for my house*. Give me, said he, a good estate, rather

Q. Eliz. *than a great one. He had a very quaint saying,*
 { *saith Robert Naunton, and he used it often to*
very good purpose, That he loved the jest well,
but not the loss of his friend. He would say, that
though unusquisq; suæ fortunæ faber, was a true
and good principle; yet the most in number were
those that marred themselves: but I will never for-
give that man that loseth himself to be rid of his
jest. The excellency of his parts was set off with
 the gravity of his person, and the queen would
 say, *My lord Bacon's soul lodgeth well.* His ac-
 count of England and all its affaires, was punc-
 tual; his use of learned artists, was continual; his
 correspondence with his fellow-statesmen, exact:
 his apprehension of our laws and government,
 clear; his model of both, methodical: his faith-
 fulness to the church, eminent: his industrious
 invention for the state, indefatigable. He, was in
 a word, a father of his country, and of sir Francis
 Bacon. Sir Nicholas Bacon was the moderate
 man that was appointed to preside at the dispu-
 tation between the Protestant and Popish doctors
 in the first of queen Elizabeth. He was that
 judicious states-man, to whom was trusted the
 management of that parliament and convocation:
 the satisfaction of the people and kingdome, and
 those delatory proceedings with France, Spain,
 and Rome, that were at the bottom of the great
 work of reformation, and settlement at that time.

Observations on the Life of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh.

WILLIAM * CECIL was born with Lloyd. the advantage of being Richard Cecil's son, (who was of the robes to king Henry, and a legatee in his will) and bred with that of being commoner of St. John's in Cambridge, and student at the † Innes of court in London; whence he was advanced by his pregnancy to serve the duke of Somerset in quality of master of requests, as he was afterwards by his master to attend king Edward the sixth, in the capacity of secretary of state; where he furnished all acts and orders with reasons of state, as he had them fitted by able lawyers with arguments of law. He loved always, they say, to wrap the prerogatives in the laws of the land. He was constant, but not obstinate in his advice. ‡ As the planets are whirled about dayly from East to West by the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, yet have a contrary motion of their own from West to East, which they slowly, yet surely move at their leisure: so our *states-man*, though yielding in some things to greatness of some persons in an age wherein it was present drowning to swim against the stream; yet had he his counter-endavours against the prevailing strain, and privately advan-

* Descended of the Roman Cecilii, say some.

† Grays-Inne.

‡ Fuller Holy State ex Arist. 1. 2. de cœlo, c. 4. & 10.

Q. Eliz. advanced his rightful intentions against others wrongful ambitions. If dissenting from his superiours, he did it with all humility and moderation; yet chusing always rather to displease than betray. He was in much favour with king Edward, in some with queen Mary, in most with queen Elizabeth; who though sparing of her honours, yet heaped on him the trust of secretary of state, the profits of the master of the wards, the advancement of lord treasurer, and the degree of baron of Burleigh: for as he followed the marquess of Winchester in his *employment*, so he did in his *compliance*. When he was out of place, he was not out of service in queen Mary's days; his abilities being as necessary in those times as his inclination; and that queens council being as ready to *advance* him at last, as they were to *use* him all her reign.

In queen Elizabeth's time he settled the crown by settling religion; and by an utter separation from Rome, strengthened England. He made *equal* use of those that were then Protestants by *interest*, and they who were so in *conscience*: those that had affections for church-lands, and those that had affections for the church. The pope would by a bull confirm the sale of abbey-lands; *But who*, said Burleigh, *can confirm the pope's Bull*; the king of Spain secured the queen in hope of her bed, the pope winked at her in hope of her heart: Burleigh over-reached the one by a fair complaisance, and the other by insensible alterations.

During the queen's ten years calm, Cecil provided for a tempest; and improved her shipping and ammunition to a dreadfulnes at sea, as he did

did her army to a great skill and experience by Q. Eliz. land. He made Holland our stage of war, and our school of discipline; where England gained the security and experience of war without its calamity and desolations; always offensive, and once only defensive.

His intelligence abroad, was no less than his prudence at home; and he could write to a friend in Ireland what the king of Spain could do for two years together, and what he could not do. His advices from his pensioners abroad, were presented queen Elizabeth once a fortnight; 1. clearly and plainly; 2. methodically and distinctly; 3. speedily and seasonably; 4. truly and fully. He exchanged his interest for Walsingham's intelligence, who commanded what he could *do*, as he did what the other *knew*. The bull clapped at London-house, was first in our state-man's study: where they might learn what they were to do, and protestants what to expect, many years before any thing was visible.

When Leicester would have no equal, and Suffex no superiour, then Cecil as Neuter served himself of them both. He would wrestle with neither of them, yet he would trip them both: they having many rubs in their way, yet never saw who laid them. He never quarrelled with any; neither, saith Cambden, did he ever sue, or was he ever sued. *Prudens qui Patiens*, was his saying, before it was sir Edward Cooke's motto: and he had rather tire out opposition by his moderation, than improve it by his impatience. Others were raised to balance factions, he to support the kingdome: fickle favour tossed

Q. Eliz. sed them, constant interest secured him. No fewer than the marquess of Winchester, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Pembroke, Leicester and Westmorland contrived his fall; but reason of state and his mistress kept up his standing. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton advised them to clap him up, saying, *That then men would open their mouths to speak freely against him*: but the queen understanding hereof, and standing, as I may say, * (saith my author) in the very prison-door, quashed all their designs, and freed him from the mischief projected against him. Great was the value the queen set upon him, as her ablest minister of state: for coming once to visit him being sick of the gout at Burleigh-house in the Strand, and being much heightened with her head-attire then in fashion, the lord's servant who conducted her through the door, said, *May your highness be pleased to stoop*. The queen returned, *For your Master's sake I will stoop, but not for the King of Spain*. She would make him always sit down in her presence: saying, *My Lord, we make use of you not for your bad Leggs, but your good head*.

He was a good friend to the church as then established by law; advising his son Thomas never to build a great house, or bestow any great charge upon an impropriation, as fearing the foundation might fail hereafter: yet conniving at sober nonconformists, to strengthen the foundation at present, he checked the forwardness of private men, and advanced the honour of the publick establishment on all hands. *Good my Lord*

* Camb. Eliz. anno 1579, 80.

Lord, (saith he in his letter to archbishop Whitgift, in behalf of some squeamish ministers) Q. Eliz.

“ bear with my scribling; I write with the testi-
 “ mony of a good conscience: I desire the peace
 “ of the church; I desire concord and unity in
 “ the exercise of our religion: I fear no sensual
 “ or wilful recusant. I would not make offen-
 “ ders, neither would I protect them. And
 “ I pray your grace bear this, (and perchance a
 “ fault) and yet I have sharply admonished
 “ them, that if they will be disturbers in their
 “ churches, they must be corrected: and yet
 “ upon your grace’s answer to me, * *Ne sutor*
ultra Crepidam; neither will I put † *Falcem in*
alterius Messum, (was his chaplain Traverses his
 hand in all this?) and then again: *If I had*
known his fault, (saith he of Brown) *I might be*
blamed for Writing for him. Thus he carried
 matters without passion and prejudice prudently,
 as became so great a states-man. He was not *ri-*
gid, yet he was *careful*: he would help the good-
 natured, yet punish the stubborn: he would ra-
 ther be where nothing is lawful, than where all
 things are so. He would never skrew up the law
 to the pitch of cruelty, nor unloose it to the re-
 missness of libertinism.

He was no less honourable a patron of the uni-
 versity, than he was a faithful son of the church:
 (the church strengtheneth the state, and the uni-
 versities furnish both :) particularly in the case of
Rent-corn, which (saith my author) first grew in
 sir Thomas Smith’s head, yet was ripened by
 Burleigh’s assistance; whereby, though the rents
 of


* Cobler keep to thy Last.

† My Sickle into another’s Corn.

Q. Eliz. of the colledges stand still, their revenues increase.

He was not surer of all church-men and scholars by his obligations upon them, than he was of all by his complaisance and pleasantness. None more grave than he in publick, none more free in private; especially at his table, where he drew something out of his heaviest guests; having an admirable dexterity in reading and observing men, their own occasional openings in common discourse; there being more hold to be taken of a few words casually uttered, than of set-solemn speeches, which rather shew mens arts than their natures, as indited rather of their brains than hearts. His power awed many, his conversation obliged more. He had his hour to put on his gown, and his hour to put it off: when he would say, *Lie thou there Lord Treasurer*; and bidding *Adieu* to all state-affairs, he disposed himself to his quiet and rest.

He laid the designs of war by his own theory, and his friends intelligence; yet he advised peace and died before the question was determined, *Whether a War with Spain?* others understood the *Nature* of war, but he onely the expediency and *Conveniency*. If war was necessary, none more forward to promote it, none more careful to maintain it: knowing, that in vain do the brows beat, the eyes sparkle, the tongue threaten, the fist bend, and the arm strike, if the belly be not fed, and the back cloathed: and indeed this was his master-piece, that the queen vying gold and silver with the king of Spain, had money or credit when the other had neither; her exchequer, saith my author, though
but

but a pond in comparison, holding water, when Q. Eliz. his river fed with a spring from the Indies, was  drained dry. It was with his advice that that queen paid her obligations in preferments, rather than money; giving away not above two largesses of that nature in her life. In a word, when others set in a cloud, he shined clear to his last: he saw Essex dead, Leicester slighted, Mountjoy discountenanced: and what with the queen's constant favour, which *lodged* where it *lighted*, and his own temper and moderation, when more violent men failed, he died as great a favourite as he lived; leaving his son Thomas so much estate as advanced him to the earldome of Exeter; and his son Robert so much state-discipline as raised him *successive* to be secretary of state, master of the court of wards, lord treasurer, and earl of Salisbury.

He was a very exact and a wary observer of foreign transaction; witness this passage to sir Henry Norris ambassador in France: “ The rare
“ manner of your entertainment, hath moved
“ the queen's majesty to muse upon what score
“ it should be, being more than hath been used
“ in like cases to her ambassadors, and such as
“ besides your own report hath been by others
“ lately advertised: and for that in such things
“ guesses be doubtful, I pray you by your next
“ advertise me what your self do think of it;
“ and in the mean time I know you are not un-
“ taught to judge of the difference between
“ *fair words and good deeds*, as the saying is,
“ * *Fortuna cum adblanditur Captivum advenit.*

His thoughts of a rebel that submitted, take in these words: *Of late Shane O'neal hath made*
mean

Q. Eliz. means to the Lord Deputy of Ireland to be received into grace, pretending that he hath meant no manner of unlawfulness towards the Queen: by which is gathered that he groweth weary of his lewdness: yet I think he is no otherwise to be reformed than by sharp prosecution, which is intended to be followed no whit the less for any his fair Writings, as reason is.

Of intelligence he writes thus: I doubt not but you shall have of his hand no lack of Intelligence, which you must credit as you see cause by proof of the event.

About ambassadors dispatches he saith, He must write apart to the Secretary in matters containing trouble and business, and to his Sovereign of Advice.

In a particular negotiation about pyrates, he advised, That the King of France and his Council might perceive that it is well known how the Pyrates are suffered to do what they will, notwithstanding it be contrary to Proclamation. And yet you shall so order the matter, (saith he to a French ambassadour) as not that you shall find fault with this manner of suffering: for that ought properly to be to the Spanish or Portugal Embassador, with whom you may sometime deal, to understand how they do, know what is done, and how they do interpret it.

Touching the king of Scots murther, he would say, There are words spoken which I hold best to suppress: neither would I have you (saith he to his friend) utter any of these things, not doubting but shortly God will cause the truth to be revealed.

Of

Of an underhand traytor he writes to his *Q. Eliz.* friend, *I pray write unto me somewhat more particularly for the proof of his trayterous speeches, whereby there might be some ground made how to have him demanded.*

Of the demanding of a town promised in a treaty: fir Thomas Smith went to demand Callis, not that we think the Governour will deliver it, but to avoid all cavillation which they might invent: (for by Law it must be demanded upon the very place; and being not delivered, the sum of 500000 l. is forfeited) Mr. Winter shall pass secretly with him to take possession thereof, if they deceive our expectation: but not past three of the Council know of Winter's going.

Concerning the unreasonable words of princes, he saith, *If hereof the Embassador (meaning the French) shall make any sinister report, you may as you see cause well maintain the Queen's answer to be very reasonable, as having cause to mislike the manner of Writing of the Queen thereon: which nevertbeles you may impute to the unadvisedness of the Secretary: for so the Queen's Majesty doth impute it.*

Of the troubles in Scotland, he observed the French made their present advantage to the damage of England; and you know that Scotland is the French king to it, as Ireland is the Spanish.

Of forraign news he writes to fir Henry Norris, *That he would be glad to have a Note of the Names of the chieft Nobility of France, and with whom they may be married: adding thereto any other thing that may belong to the knowledge of their lineage and degrees, as you shall think meet.*

He

Q. Eliz. He writes, that her majesty being a prince herself, is doubtful to give countenance to subjects. *I wish* (saith he) *to have a Kalender of them who are with the Prince, and also to see the Edicts that have lately passed from the King against them, and that in these troublesome times; wherein accidents are so diversly reported, your advices were large and repeated, and that we had such Articles as pass on both sides.*

Of France he saith, *You must think that seeing all the parts of Christendome are intentive to hear of the matters of France, we cannot be careless to whom the same belongeth next of all, whatsoever the end thereof shall be.*

Of the distractions of France, thus to our embassador in France: *If you told the queen-mother so as of your own head, as a thing you hear spread abroad in the world, I think you might do well, and speak truly: for as for the Pope's Ministers, their Profession is to prefer the weal of their own Church before the good state of any Kingdome on earth; and whatsoever come of any thing, they look onely to the continuance of their own ambitious Ruling. And as for other Ministers of Princes, or for men of War, it is a truth infallible, The more they do impoverish that Monarchy of France, the better they think their own Estates.*

Of a plot discovered, he writes: *We can truly hit no man, wherefore it is necessary that you speak again with the Party that gave you this Intelligence: and if the matter be of truth, and not a disguising to some other purpose, he can as well obtain you the knowledge of the party in certainty, as thus to give a guess at him: for as he hath his intel-*

intelligence of the matter which he uttered to you, Q. Eliz. so may be attain to a more perfect knowledge.

For the protestants he saith, I pray you put them in comfort; that if extremitie shall happen, they must not be left: for it is so universal a cause, as none of the Religion can seperate themselves one from another. We must all pray together, and stand fast together.

Of a professor he writes, The Queen's Majesty will in no wise hear of such matters, which she thinketh are but changeable, and without fruit; although I had earnestly moved her majesty to have adventured some small piece of money upon such a man: therefore I see no remedy but to pay him as well as may be with good words.

Touching the plot again: Metbinks that the Parties that tell you such pieces of tales, if the whole were true, might as well tell you the whole, as such obscure parts: which if they do not, you might well alledge them to be but devices to breed unquietness and suspition; and as I wrote before unto you, they might be tempted with offer of rewards, that the truth of the matter might be disclosed: and surely metbinks still, since the informers will not be known of the particulars in more certainty, that these things are intended to bring us into their places: but yet no diligence is to be omitted.

Touching the delivery of an embassie, he writes, And I think if you would in the Translating thereof distribute it into sundry members by way of Articles, you shall the better carry it in your minde; making thereby an account with your self of the better delivery thereof. And you shall do well to let some such as favour the intention of the Queen's Message, to see the Copy of the Letter; whereby they

Q. Eliz. they may percase being called to give advice to the King, further the cause, to the benefit of them of the Religion. I would be glad to hear a Brief, or as they call it, a List of the Names of the principal persons that have a charge now in these Wars of France on both parts, with the Contents as near as you can of their numbers.


Of the Queen of Scots affairs, he concludes : God send her Majesty clear of these Scottish matters, whereinto the entry is easie, but the passage within doubtful; and I fear the end will be monstrous: I am thrown into a maze at this, that I know not how to walk from dangers. Sir Walter Mildway and I are sent to the Scottish Queen, as by the Queen's Majesties Letters you may see : God be our Guide ; for neither of us like the Message.

1. Knowledge is the treasure of the mind, discretion is the key : the practick part of wisdom is the best : a native ingenuity is beyond the watchings of industrious study.

There are no such guards of safety as vertue and wisdom : danger cannot make impression on the vertuous : nor fortune subvert the wise : the Wise man cannot fall. Prudence is a safe conduct through the various casualties of mortality. He declines in wisdom, that falls in fortune, Discretion sways the stars and fate.

Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives ; Liber, Honoratus, pulcher, Rex deniq ; regum.

*“ Take all there's but one Jove above him : He
“ Is Rich, Fair, Noble, King of Kings, and free.*

The world is a shop of instruments, whereof *Q. Eliz.* the wise man is master; and a kingdome but a  frame of engines, whereunto he is the wheel.

2. Smoothness declineth envy and danger, humility advanceth to honour, moderation preserves in it. Men come down by domineering. Haste undoeth that, which a just delay ripeneth. Our wise man would say, *Stay a little and we will have done the sooner.* An estate evened with these thoughts, endureth. It's an excellent motto:

Nolo Minor me timeat, despiciat ve Major.

“ *My inferiour shall not fear, my Superiour shall*
“ *not despise me,*

3. Humility shuns honour, and is the way to it: the purest gold is most ductile. It's commonly a good blade that bends well. The reed that bends and is whole, is better than the strong oak that not bending breaks.

4. There is no such prevalent work-man as sedulity and diligence: a man would wonder at the mighty things which have been done by degrees, and gentle augmentations. Patience, diligence and moderation are the common steps to excellency. It's for omnipotence to do mighty things in a moment; but degreeingly to grow to greatness, is the course he hath left for man.

Observations on the Life of Walter Devereux Earl of Essex.

Lloyd.

WALTER DEVEREUX was by his * mother's side born to, and by his sovereign's favour possessed of the earldome of Essex; his spirit was as the time martial and active, equally impatient of rust in his soul, and in his sword: Foreign countries bred then those souldiers that England employed; the university made a scholar, the court a man, and Flanders the souldier.

His actions brought him to the presence, and his presence commended him to the heart of queen Elizabeth; but the shadow doth not more naturally attend the sun, than envy doth favour: since he must rise, its contrived he should rise so high, that he must fall; Yet he might have lived longer, it was thought, if his wife had not there more favour than himself; Abraham was afraid of, and sir Walter was undone by his Sarah's beauty; this is certain, he was no sooner in his grave, than the same great man whom he declared his enemy at his death, was his successor in his marriage-bed.

Ambitious was he of the Irish service, and subtle were others to fill up his sayls so wide, as to be over-turned; at once diving into, and ruining him by his humour; weary was he of the court, and weary, as he observed, was that of him; In
comes

* Cicely daughter of Thomas Bouchier late earl of Essex.

comes Leicester in this juncture, and advanceth Q. Eliz.
to the sovereign honour of maintaining an army
at his own charge, and the royalty of Claudboy
in Ulster; the first he knew would (as it fell out)
undo him; the other was the bear's skin, when
he could catch, kill, and fley it; and the whole
plot was but supplanting of him out of a *real*
estate in England and Wales, to an *imaginary*
one in Ireland. Over he goeth with as splendid
a retinue of kindred, friends, supernumerarie
volunteers, as his son to the same service, or his
grandson to one more unhappy; Sir William
Fitz-William's jealousy heard of his parade, and
his industry out-reached him so far, that all that
preparation amounted to no more honour, than
to have been commissioned, after much impor-
tunity and attendance, by him; nor to any more
advantage than the bare government of Ulster.
Little good did he in Ulster, (now under
the discouraging and heartless impressions of
discontent) less in the South of Ireland, whi-
ther he was remanded by the deputy, whose de-
sign was not to see how successfully he would
conquer, but how dutifully he would obey, in
six months time spending 4000 l. to ruin himself:
but alas! in vain doth he conquer; who was al-
ways forbid to pursue and improve his victory: for
no sooner did his fortune favour him in one place,
but he was called to his misfortune in another;
for no sooner doth he by experience and ac-
quaintance with the situation of any place, the
humour or interest of any people, the weaknesses
and strengths of any enemy, the advantages or
disadvantages of any undertaking, ripen circum-
stances towards success, but he is called off to a
new and unacquainted scene of action, where he

Q. Eliz. shall lose his army, before he knoweth how to employ it. His friends at court grew few and cold; his foes many and active; his affronts continual to disorder him by passion, or sink him in despair.

His commission was but short before, but is none now; only three hundred men stick to him: his money failing, his noble followers withdrawing, his common souldiers mutiny, and he is recalled. And happy had he been, could he have been quiet: but nothing would compleat some men's designs but his ruin; and nothing could ruin him but honour, that at once pleased his humour, and wasted his estate. Earl-marshal of Ireland he is made, and thither he goeth in great state to die, anno 1576, and the 36 of his age: a year fatal to that family, which none of them exceeded but the last, who had been happy if he had died sooner, or lived longer than he did. Although sir Walter Devereux had not success over others which his *valour* deserved, yet he had that conquest of himself that *vertue* onely gives; shewing himself as good at the buckler, as at the sword; at suffering, as well as acting. All his changes from without he bore with, none within; his even and solide minde that fashioned its own fate, enjoying its constant calm amidst all the tempests of malice and ambition. Those ignoble courses were not greater arguments of his enemies narrowness and degeneracy, than his resolved patience was of his largeness and generousness of spirit; he being as much above those smaller tricks, as they were below his adversaries. We make ourselves more injuries than are offered us; and the apprehension of wrong doth more harm.

harm than the smartest part of the wrong itself. Q. Eliz.
 It's the wise man's glory, and the states-man's prudence to *pass by offences*. A fool struck Cato in the Bath; and when he was sorry for it, Cato had forgot it: for, (saith Seneca) *Melius putavit non agnoscere quam ignoscere*. Light injuries are made none by a not-regarding: which with a pursuing revenge grow both to height and burden, and live to mischief us, when they might die to secure us. *It's Princely* (saith one) *to disdain a wrong*, who when embassadors have offered undecences, use not to chide, but deny them audience: as if silence were the way royal to revenge a wrong. The upper region is most composed; ~~the wisest~~ *the least*, knowing that observation and resentment do but provoke and encourage that malice which neglect and silence deads and dissipates. And it was sir Walter's father's maxime, That discontent was the greatest weakness of a generous soul, which is always so intent upon its unhappiness, that it forgets its remedies.

This lord was a great instance of that maxime, That it's an equal mischief to distrust all, as to believe all; although of the two, the safest is to *distrust*: for fear had secured this noble person, while confidence ruined him; it being a vertue onely when men were innocent, but ever since, the bane of those that own it.

Three things undid this earl:

1. That he could not imagine he was to be ruined by his advancement.

2. That he never mistrusted an oath.

B b 3

3. That

Q. Eliz. 3. That he never considered that as princes, so favourites, *have many eyes, and long hands*

He that is so open as to reserve nothing from Friends, is renowned for charity; but he that is so to lie at the mercy of all, is marked for ruin. No sooner understood my lord of Leicester Essex his disposition, but the bitter fool Pace could tell his fortune, begging of my lord at his departure the making of his mourning, and adding, *You and I have done for this world.*

Walter earl of Essex had been happy if he had not lived in my lord of Leicester's time: his son Robert renowned, had he not been sir Robert Cecil's contemporary; and his grandchild an heroe, had he not known my lord Say and Mr. Hampden.

Observations on the Life of Thomas Ratclif Earl of Suffex.

Lloyd. **T**HOMAS RATCLIF Earl of Suffex, was of a very noble and antient lineage, honoured thro' many descents by the title of viscounts Fitz-Walters. He was a goodly gentleman, and of a brave noble nature, true and constant to his friends and servants; noted for honesty: a very excellent souldier, being one of the queen's martialists, who did very good service in Ireland at her first accession till she recalled him to the court, where she made him lord chamberlain; and though he was not endowed with the cunning-

ningness and dexterity as others were, yet upon his death-bed he gave his friends a caveat whom they should beware. His words, (saith sir Robert Naunton) are these: *I am now passing into another world, and must leave you to your fortunes and to the queen's graces: but beware of the gypsie for he will be too hard for you all: you know not the beast so well as I do.* His prowess and integrity drew the souldiers after him, Leicester's courtship and cunning the courtiers, Cecil's prudence and service the statesmen.

This Thomas Ratclif lord Fitz-Walter, second earl of Suffex of that surname, was twice lord deputy of Ireland, by his prudence he prevented the breaking out of an actual rebellion in that kingdome, and no wonder if in his time it rained not war there, seeing his diligence dispersed the clouds before they could gather together. Thus he who cures a disease may be skilfullest, but he that prevents it is the best physician.

Being called home by the queen to be lord chamberlain, a constant court faction was maintained between him and Robert earl of Leicester, these two parties dividing the court, whilst the Cecilians as neuters did look upon them; Suffex had a great estate left by his ancestors, Leicester as great given or restored him by the queen; Suffex was the honester man, and greater souldier; Leicester the more facete courtier, and deep politician, not for the general good, but his own particular profit. Great was the animosity betwixt them, and what in vain the queen endeavoured, death performed, taking this earl away: and so the competition ended. New-hall in Essex was the place (if not of his birth) of his prin-

Q. Eliz. principal habitation. He lyeth buried in the church of St. Olaves Hartstreet, London.

The first of queen Elizabeth found this brave earl commanding Ireland in peace and plenty, with three hundred and twenty horse, and eight hundred and sixty foot, prudently garrison'd and well payd; and the second employed him thither again, with instructions, that he should beware above all things, lest the Irish, being an uncivil people, and therefore the more superstitious, should by the cunning practices of the French, be excited to rebellion under the pretext of religion.

2. That he should fortify Ophale with castles and forts.

3. That he should engage the soldiers with large possessions.

4. That the Irish nobility should hold their estates in fee.

5. That he should improve the queen's revenues moderately, and reduce her exchequer there, to the form of that in England.

At what time Maximilian the emperor courted queen Elizabeth, whom all Englishmen wished married, all protestants married to a protestant, and the earl of Leicester had designed for himself, there arose a deadly feud in the English court between the earl of Suffex, that favoured the match upon common principles of government, and the earl of Leicester who opposed it upon a private design of his own; certainly very great and shameful hopes do they foster, who have already attained things beyond hopes. The open-hearted earl would call his antagonist an upstart
that

that had but two ancestors, his father, a traytor; Q. Eliz. and his grand-father, a publican. Thus the court is divided, the earls are alwayes attended with their armed guards, until the queen who took pleasure in the innocent emulation of her women, became fearful of the dangerous contests of her favourites, and rather skinned over, than healed the rupture.

At the emperour's court, whither he is sent with the order of St. George, he presseth the marriage closely, as much out of love to his countrey, as hatred to Leicester; having nothing more ordinary in his discourse than that a foreign prince was to be preferred before the noblest English-man for the three grand things, of honour, power, and wealth. But what he promoted publicly, the lord North, who was joyned with him rather as his guardian than his colleague, opposed privately, untill a few fond scruples broke the most solemn negotiations wherein yet this earl behaved himself with a gallantry that gained him a familiarity from the emperour, a reverence from the arch-duke, a respect from the people, and his mistress a kindness in that court, that stood her in great stead against the attempts of Spain and Rome.

From Germany he returned with much honour to command in the north with more, where he and his old settlers at court discovered the grand plot in the north, as Hunsdon and his old souldiers at Berwick defeated it, and both harassed the Scottish borders: all things yielding to those two grand disposers of the world, now predominant in England, Wisdome and Cecil at home, Armes and Hunsdon abroad; and both
with

Q. Eliz. with Suffex at home, now for his approved wisdom and fidelity made privy counsellour, and abroad alway lord general.

Of many I pitch on this one argument of the greatness of his mind, that he scorned to trample the prostrate; that he had a just passion, but not an unworthy malice for an enemy whom he had a generous goodness to pity when unhappy, as well as a brave spirit to contest with when injurious. The lesser fry of adversaries railed against, this great one pleaded for Leicester, when his practices against Anjou's marriage with the queen confined him to the castle of Windsor. And his menaces had cast him to the Tower of London, had not my lord, minding more the common interest than his private resentments, first moderated the queen's passion with reason, and then overcame it with this jest, *you must allow lovers their jealousy.*

He succeeded his father in his fortune, and in his favour; his prudence and resolution promoting him to the government of Ireland and the North; his good husbandry and skill in surveying making him justice in Eyre of all the parks beyond Trent; and his comely presence advancing him lord chamberlain. Queen Elizabeth poyzed her state by factions abroad, and parties at home; her chiefest wisdom lying in her general correspondence and compliance with each party, as her interest lay in their compliance and distance from one another. My lord of Suffex left this memorial behind him, That for rising men to stick to a side, is necessary; for great men to be indifferent, is wise: and this, That he and my lord of Leicester cleared and purged the court; their

their cross observations refining each person that **Q. Eliz** was admitted to court; none daring any injustice while Leicester observed him on the one hand, and Suffex punished him on the other. Then no deserving person could be excluded by the one, that could serve his prince; nor any undeserving one admitted that might disparage him: one interest being sure to receive the one, as the other was to exclude the other.

Divers persons (saith one) of equal authority, though *both wicked*, do in experience produce more justice than a greater probity in a single individual hath been heard to pronounce; in a divided court the creatures of one party being the enemies of another, no less powerful; and so they both become liable to accusation, or capable of defence: and from the sparkles of this clashing, not onely persons and actions, but the public councils came to be refined from the rusts and cankers that grow by an unanimity. Faction can be as little spared in a monarchy, as an eye or an ear, as through which the prince hath a clearer apprehension of his own and others affairs, than he can have when his followers are all agreed: through the percussion of equal factions, as thro' that of flint and steel, all things coming to light by debates, that might either advance or eclipse a princes glory.

When my lord of Suffex could not overbear Leicester with power, he did it with policy; and by yielding to him, conquered him: for (as he observed) when he and his friends retired, Leicester and his subdivided; and he was checked more by the ambition he taught his own followers, than by the competition of his adversaries.

When

Q. Eliz. When factions are carried too high, and too violently, it is a signe of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice of their authority and business: the motions of factions under kings, ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferiour orbs, which may have their proper inclination, but yet are still quietly carried by the higher motion of the *Primum Mobile*. Queen Elizabeth had an happy time of it, if it were but for this, That her favourites divisions were her support; for thereby she attained the knowledge of all things that happened, so as no suit or designe passed the royal assent, before she understood as much of reason as enemies or friends could bring for or against it.

Verulam's
Essays.

The character this third great lord of his family left behind him, was, "This year died a
"man of a great spirit and faithfulness to his coun-
"try:" and therefore none freer than he of his thoughts, none sounder than he in his counsels. Nor did this freedom of communication betray his future resolutions to the discovery of his enemies, as they opened his heart to the observation of his prince: for through a seeming unconstancy, not of words but of action; not his weakness but his nimbleness, (the bird on the wing is safe) he could so often vary, as it was not easie to discover where or when he would be buzzing, and give the blow: by which unsteady carriage, he so befooled his adversaries with their spies and pensioners, as they were at a loss what to inform their patrons of, or themselves how to resolve. Fortune and conduct set up this favourite, it falling in his character as at *Primero*, and other plays, wherein fortune is directed and conducted by

by art. The best and subtlest gamester may lose, Q. Eliz. if it cross him; but if it smiles and favours, he knoweth best how to manage and govern it.

Five things raised this person to a respect as great as his fortune; to be as high in the queen's favour, as he was in his descent.

1. A civility set off with state.
2. A pleasing modesty of countenance, and affability of speech, enameled with gravity.
3. A boldness attended with patience.
4. A great capacity, enliven'd with as great dexterity. And
5. An integrity secured with wariness in the darke, of which quality both in his expression, and in his actions he wrapped himself as the **sepia* to preserve her self undiscovered, doth shed forth about her a quantity of blushes in her blood to hide herself from the Fisherman.

Observations on the Life of the Lord Willoughby.

THE lord Willoughby was one of the queen's first sword-men: he was of the antient extract of the Bartues, but more ennobled by his mother, who was dutchess of Suffolk. He was a great master of the art military, and was sent general into France, and commanded the second of five armies that the queen sent thither in aid of the French. As he was a great souldier, so

* The cuttle Fish.

Q. Eliz. so was he of a futable magnanimity, and could not brook the obsequiousness and assiduity of the court at that time. He had more favour than he courted, and he courted more (rather to comply with the queen's humour, than his own inclination) than he desired. He would say, and that saying did him no good, (saith sir Robert Naunton) that he was none of the *Reptilia*, being made rather to march as a souldier, than to creep as a courtier. But civility must allay nature in a courtier, prudence regulate it in a states-man, and modest submission check and soften it in a subject. It's as dangerous to be stubbornly *above* the kindness, as it is to be factiously *against* the power of princes. Willoughby got nothing, Stanley lost all by his haughtiness; which when it cannot be *obliged*, is *suspected*. But his service in France, Holland, and on the borders, compounded for his roughness: so that they who could not endure he should be high at court, were pleased he should be so in the field. Stiffness which displeased when looked on as pride at home, took when heard to be resolution abroad. Each nature is advanced in its own element: Leicester among the ladies, my lord Willoughby among the souldiers. Its a step to greatness to know our *own way* to it; to exercise and shew our proper vertues as he did: his magnanimity in these two instances, among many others.

Camden

1. When one challenged him, then sick of the gout, he said, *That though he were lame in his feet and hands, yet he would carry a Rapier in his teeth to fight his Adversary.*

2. Having

2. Having taken a Spanish gennet designed a *Q. Eliz.* present to that king, and being offered either 1000 l. or 100 l. a year in exchange for it, he nobly answered, *If it had been a Commander, he would have freely released him; but being onely a Horse, he saw no reason he could not keep a good Horse as well as the King of Spain himself.* Sir Christopher Hatton was to an excess a courtier, and my lord Willoughby so a souldier.

*Queen Elizabeth to the Lord
Willoughby.*

Good Peregrine.

WE are not a little glad that by your journey you have received such good fruit of amendment; specially when we consider what great vexations it is to a mind devoted to actions of honour to be restrained by any indisposition of body from following those courses, which to your own reputation and our great satisfaction you have formerly performed. And therefore (as we must out of our desire of your well-doing) chiefly enjoyn you to an especial care to encrease and continue your health, which must give life to all your best endeavours; so we must next as seriously recommend to you this consideration, that in these times, when there is such appearance that we shall have the
tryal

Q. Eliz. tryal of our best noble subjects, you seem
not to affect the satisfaction of your own private contentation beyond the attending of that which nature and duty challengeth from all persons of your quality and profession. For if necessarily (your health of body being recovered) you should eloign your self by residence there from those employments whereof we shall have too good store, you shall not so much amend the state of your body, as happily you shall call in question the reputation of your mind and judgement, even in the opinion of those that love you, and are best acquainted with your disposition and discretion.

Interpret this our plainness we pray you to our extraordinary estimation of you ; for it is not common with us to deal so freely with many : and believe that you shall ever find us both ready and willing in all occasions to yield you the fruits of that interest, which your endeavours have purchased for you in our opinion and estimation : not doubting, but when you have with moderation made tryal of the success of these your sundry peregrinations, you will find as great comfort to spend your days at home as heretofore you have done : of which we do wish you full measure, howsoever you shall have cause of abode or return. Given under our Signet
at

at our mannor of Nonfuch, the seventh of Q. Eliz.
October 1594, in the 37 year of our reign, ~~~~~

Your most loving Sovereign,

E. R.

*Observations on the Life of
Sir Philip Sidney.*

HE was son to sir Henry Sidney lord deputy of Ireland, and president of Wales. A person of great parts, and in no mean grace with the queen. His mother was sister to my lord of Leicester, from whence we may conjecture, how the father stood up in the place of honour and employment; so that his descent was apparently noble on both sides. For his education, it was such as travel and the university could afford: for after an incredible proficiency in all the species of learning, he left the academical life for that of the court, whither he came by his uncle's invitation, famed aforehand by a noble report of his accomplishments; by which, together with the state of his person, framed by a natural propension to arms, he soon attracted the good opinion of all men; and was so highly prized in the good opinion of the queen, that she thought the court deficient without him: and whereas (through the fame of his deserts)

Q. Eliz. he was in the election for the kingdome of Poland, she refused to further his advancement, not out of emulation, but out of fear to lose the jewel of her times. He married the daughter and sole heir of sir Francis Walsingham, then secretary of state : a lady destinated to the bed of honour, who (after his deplorable death at Zutphen in the Netherlands, where he was governor of Flushing, at the time of his uncles being there) was married to my lord of Essex, and since his death to my lord of St. Alban's ; all persons of the sword, and otherwise of great honour and vertue. He had an equal temperament of *Mars* and *Mercury*, valour and learning, to as high a pitch as nature and art could frame, and fortune improve him : so dexterous, that he seemed born for every thing he went about. His representations of vertue and vice, were not more lively in his books, than in his life : his fancy was not above his vertue : his humours, counsels and actions, were renowned in the romancer, heroick in the states-man. His soul was as large as his parents, and his complexion as noble ; an equal line of both : the modesty of the mother allaying the activity of the father. A man so sweetly grave, so familiarly staid, so prettily serious he was above his years : wisdom gained by travel, experience raised from observations, solid and useful learning drawn from knowing *Languet* his three years companion, and choicest books, accomplished him for the love of all, and the reverence of most. His converse was not more close at home, than his correspondence abroad ; equally mixed with policy, pleasure, wisdom and love : his worth being

pen-

penned up, and smothered within the narrowness of his fortune, fallied not out to discontent, but pleasure; sweetning the affairs of state with the debonnareness of the stage; his romance being but policy played with *Machiavel* in jest, and state-maximes sweetned to a courtier's palate. He writ men as exactly as he studied them, and discerned humours in the court with the same deep insight he described them in his book. His infant-discourses teach *men*, O what had his riper years done!

He put life into dead notions of ancestors, made philosophy practicable; joyned the arts as closely in him, as they are in themselves. His book is below his spirit; a spirit to be confined with kingdoms, rather than studies; to do what was to be written, than onely to write what was to be done. All eyes were upon him but his own: at first, in all affairs he was the last; at last, he was the first: obliging all men that ever he saw, and seeing all that were worth obliging: all were pleased with his *Arcadia* but himself, whose years advanced him so much beyond himself, as his parts did beyond others; he condemned his *Arcadia* in his more retired judgment to the fire, which wise men think will continue to the last conflagration. His private correspondence with William of Nassau about the highest affairs of Europe, was so exact and prudent that he assured sir Fulke Grevil he deserved a kingdome in forreign parts, though he had not an office in England. The earl of Leicester held his authority in the low-countries by his counsel when *alive*, and gave it over when he was *dead*.

Q. Eliz. Sir Francis Walsingham was so much overshoot by him in his own bow, that those with whom sir Philip were acquainted with for his sake, were his friends for sir Philip's. King James was honoured when king of Scotland with his friendship, Henry the fourth with his correspondence, Don Juan highly obliged with his visits, the king of Spain himself concerned in his death, whom England (he said) lost in a *moment*, but could not breed in an *Age*, the universities were proud of his patronage, the field of his presence: the studious in all parts communicated with him; the hopeful were encouraged by him; all excellent persons thronged to him; all serviceable men were entertained by him; and he among them a prince, whose minde was great, but his spirit greater. He taught England the majesty of honest dealing, the interest of being religious. He looked deep into men and counsels, and found *no Wisdom without Courage, no Courage without Religion and Honesty*: with which solid and active reaches of his, I am perswaded (saith my lord Brooks) he would have found or made a way through all the traverses even of the most weak and irregular times. Although a private gentleman, he was a publick good; of a large yet uniform disposition: so good, that the great monarch *might* trust; so great, that a little one *must* fear him; something he did for fame, most for conscience: his publick spirit, which might have enjealoused the cautious wisdom of other princes, promoted the concerns of his own. He was sent to complement Rodolph, but he dealt really with the protestant princes, and raised a ceremony to a piece of interest.

terest. He shewed that long-breathed and cautious people, that eminent danger from Rome's superstition, joyned with Spain's power, their private confederacies and practices, their cruelty and designe ; which awaked their drowzy wariness into an association for conscience and religion more solid, as he demonstrated, than a combination out of policy. He went against the stream and current about the French match, which he dissuaded from the consequent inconveniencies of engagements and charge to England, and the little advantage from France; backing his argument with a late experience; and so staying queen Elizabeth's match by some reflexions on queen Mary's: which was, " A
 " five years designe or tax, rather than a marriage: *adding withal*, that in a forreign match,
 " besides the unequalness and danger of it (when
 " a strange prince hath such an influence on our
 " constitution) the different religion would
 " make the queen either quit the reputation of
 " a good protestant, or the honour of an obedient wife.

Ten ways he laid down a forreign prince might endanger our religion by.

1. Opposing and weakning the reverend fathers of our church.

2. By disgracing her most zealous ministers.

3. By latitude and connivance.

4. By a loose and too free a behaviour, steering mens consciences which way he pleased, and setting up indifferency.

5. By decrying customes and statutes, and enhancing proclamations to the authority of laws.

Q. Eliz. 6. By provoking the English with French oppressions.

7. By entrenching on the British liberties with *Gallicane* prerogatives.

8. By breaking our league and correspondence with other protestant states.

9. Frightning our queen to a compliance.

10. And at last attempting the protestant cause.

He would say to his friend the lord Brooks, "that if the Netherlands joyn with France, they are terrible to Spain: if with Spain, they are dreadful to France: if with us, they support the reformation: if they stand on their own legs, they are too strong to be forced to piracy." He, though a private person, opposed her majesty queen Elizabeth in that affair, with that sincerity, with that ingenuity, that freedom, that duty and peaceableness, that angered and pleased her. His opinion was not more *against* her humour, than his manage of it, was to her minde: in which affair, when most were hood-winked with ignorance, and many captived with fear, he enjoyed the freedom of his own thoughts with dayly access to her *Majesty*, hourly converse with the *French*, and constant respect from the people. None more dutiful to his sovereign than sir Philip, none more resolute against encroachers upon gentlemen and freemen, none more dear to the whole state: which when he had designed sir Francis Drake's second voyage, and stoken to him at Windsor, commanded his stay by an earl, and for his sake the whole fleets, although his stay disturbed, and his death de-

destroyed his most exact model for the conquest Q. Eliz.
of America, the exactest Europe ever saw: a conquest not to be enterprized but by sir Philip's reaching spirit, that grasped all circumstances, and commanded all interests on this side the line.

When his great soul could not *improve Europe*, he *considered* it; and made that the field of his meditation, that could not be the stage of his actions: England he saw so humourfome and populous, that it was to be refined with war, and corrupted with peace. Her interest was, he said, to balance neighbour-princes. France he observed weak and effeminate, the empire enslaved and secure, the Hanfes too big, Rome subtle and undermining, Spain crept to the power and councils of Europe, the protestant princes enjealoused and distrustful, Poland divided, Denmark strong, Sweden invironed or imprisoned, the Muscövite distressed and ignorant, the Switz enemies, yet servants to monarchs, (a dangerous body for the soul of any aspiring monarch to infuse designs into) the princes of Italy awed by their superiours, and cautious against their equals; Turkie asleep in the Seraglio; but Spain all this while master of Rome, and the wisest council or conclave in the world; lord of the mines of America, and the sword of Europe: concluding, that while the Spaniard had peace, pope money or credit, and the world men, necessity or humours, the war could hardly be determined upon this low-country-stage; and that there were but two ways to conquer Spain, the one, that which diverted Hannibal: and by setting fire on his own house,
made

Q. Eliz. made him draw his spirit to comfort his heart : the other, that of Jason, by fetching away his golden fleece, and not suffering any one quietly to enjoy that which every man so much affected. The assistance of Portugal, the surprize of Cales her key, and Sevil her treasure ; the drawing in of other well-willers ; the command of the sea, an exact intelligence ; the protection of Rochel, Brest, Bourdeaux, or some other distressed protestant, to balance the over-myrtred countries, the encouragement of religious or ambitious roytolets to advance and secure themselves, the engaging the French and Spaniards, a league with Venice and the maritime states : some temptations to Italy to remove their French and Spanish garrisons, an opportunity to recover Sicilly, some insinuations to the pope of the Austrian greatness, the setting up of the world in an *Æquilibrium*, the invasion of America, removing the diffidence, overpoyzing the neutrality, and working upon the complexions of kings and kingdoms, were this young, but great man's designe.

An expedition to the Indies he would perswade with these motives :

1. That honour was cheaper abroad than at home ; at sea, than at land.
2. That the Spanish conquests like the Jesuites miracles, made more noise at a distance than nearer hand.
3. That the Indians would joyn with the first undertakers against their cruel masters.
4. That Spain was too far for supply.
5. That the Spaniard was undisciplined, and trusted more to the greatness of his name, than to order, policy or strength.
6. That

6. That England was populous.

7. That it was an action compliant with the present humour, and not subject to emulations.

8. That it would either cut off the Spanish treasure, or make it chargeable.

9. And at last set up a free trade by sea, open a great door to valour or ambition for new conquests, and to zeal for new converts.

He said the inquisition would overthrow Spain, being a designe upon humane nature, and freedom; to govern men at the rate of beasts. His great abilities recommended him to Leicester's cabinet, whose horse he commanded in the field, whose council he guided at home. Prudent and valiant he was in contriving and executing the surprize of Axil: liberal and noble to his soldiers at Flushing; wary and deep-sighted in his council about Graveline; wise and stayed in the jealousies between Leicester and Hollock, his patience and resolution before Zutphen, his quiet and composed spirit at Arneim, his christian and religious comportment in his sickness and death, made his fame as lasting as his life was wished.

And why died he lamented by the queen, mourned for by the court, bemoaned by Europe, wept over by religion and learning, the protestant churches, celebrated by kings, and eternized by fame; because he was one whose parts were improved by early education, whose education was raised by experience, whose experience was enlarged by travel, whose travel was laid up in observations, whose observations were knit up to a solid wisdom, whose wisdom was graced with his presence; and the one was as much admired by kings, as the other was by queens.

One

Q. Eliz. One whose learning guided universities, whose alliance engaged favourites, whose presence filled courts, whose soul grasped Europe, whose merit could fill a throne, whose spirit was above it. It was he who was deserving and quiet, neglected and patient, great and familiar, ingenious and devout, learned and valiant, sweet and solid, contemplative and active. It was he whom queen Elizabeth called her * Philip, the prince Orange his master, and whose friendship my lord Brooke was so proud of, that he would have no other epitaph on his grave than this, *Here lieth Sir Philip Sidney's Friend.* It was he whose last words were, *Love my memory, cherish my Friends; their faith to me may assure you they are honest: but above all, govern your will and affections by the Will and Word of your Creator. In me behold the end of this world, and all its vanities.*

*They that have known thee well, & search thy parts
 Through all the chain of Arts:
 Thy apprehension quick as active light,
 Clear Judgement, without Night:
 Thy fancie free, yet never wild or mad,
 With wings to fly but none to gad:
 Thy language still in rich, yet comely dress,
 Not to expose thy minde, but to express.
 They that have known thee thus, sigh, and confess,
 They wish they'd known thee still, or known thee less.
 To these, the wealth and Beauties of thy minde,
 Be other Vertues joyn'd,
 Thy modest Soul, strongly confirm'd and bard,
 Ne'er beckned from its Guard.*

* In opposition to him of Spain.

Observations on the Life of
Sir John Perrot.

SIR John Perrot was a goodly gentleman, Lloyd. and of the sword: and as he was of a very ancient descent, as an heir to many extracts of gentry, especially from Guy de Bryan of Lawhern; so he was of a vast estate, and came not to the court for want. And to these adjuncts he had the endowments of courage, and the height of spirit, had it lighted on the alloy of temper and discretion: the defect whereof, with a native freedom and boldness of speech, drew him into a clouded setting, and laid him open to the spleen and advantage of his enemies. He was yet a wise man, and a brave courtier, but rough, and participating more of active than sedentary motions, as being in his constellation destined for arms. He was sent lord-deputy into Ireland, where he did the queen very great and many services: being out of envy accused of high-treason, and against the queen's will and consent condemned, he died suddenly in the Tower. He was England's professed friend, and sir Christopher Hatton's professed enemy: he fell because he would *stand* alone. In the English court at that time he that held not by Leicester's and Burleigh's favour, must yield to their frowns: what ground he gained in foreign merits, (as the sea) he lost in domestick interests. The most

Q. Eliz. most deserving recesses, and serviceable absence from courts, is incompatible with the way of interest and favour. His boysterous carriage rather removed than preferred him to Ireland, where he was to his cost, what he would have been to his advantage; chief in command, and first in council. His spirit was too great to be ruled, and his interest too little to sway. He was so like a son of Henry the * eighth, that he would not be queen Elizabeth's subject: but Hatton's sly smoothness undermined his open roughness; the one *dancing* at court with more success than the other *fought* in Ireland. He was born to enjoy, rather than to make a fortune; and to command, rather than stoop for respect. Boldness indeed is as necessary for a souldier, as the action for an orator; and is a prevailing quality over weak men at all times, and wise men at their weak times: yet it begins well, but continueth not; closing always with the wiser sorts scorns, and vulgars laughter. Sir John Perrot was better at counsel than complement, and better at execution than counsel. None worse to command first on his own head, none better to second, and under the direction of others. He could not advise, because he looked not round on his dangers: he could execute, because he saw them not. His alliance to his sovereign commended him at first to her favour, and gave him up at last to her jealousy: being too near to be modest, and too bold to be trusted: and the more service he performed, he was thereby onely the more dangerous, and
withal

* They say his Father married a Familiar of King Henry's.

withal unhappy; his successes onely puffing up Q. Eliz.
 his humor, and his victories ripening his ambi-
 tion to those fatal fallies against the queen's ho-
 nour and government, that had cost him his
 life, had he not saved it with those very rants he
 lost himself by: for when he had out of an in-
 nocent confidence of his cause, and a haughty
 conceit of his extraction, exasperated his noble
 jury to his condemnation, he had no more to say
 for himself than, *God's death, will the Queen*
suffer her Brother to be offered up as a sacrifice to
the envy of my frisking Adversaries? On which
 words the queen refused to sign the warrant for
 his execution, though pressed to it from reason
 and interest, saying, *They were all Knaves that*
condemned him. It's observed of him, that the
 surplusage of his services in Ireland abated the
 merit of them; and that it was his oversight to
 have done too much there. His mortal words
 were those in the great chamber of Dublin, when
 the queen sent him some respectful letters after
 her expostulatory ones, with an intimation of
 the Spaniard's design: *Lo now, (saith he) she is*
ready to piss her self for fear of the Spaniard; I
am again one of her white Boys.

A great birth and a great minde are crushed
 in commonwealths, and watched in kingdoms:
 they who are too tall to stand, too stubborn to
 bow, are but too fit to break. Ruffling spirits
 raise themselves at the settlement of governments,
 but fall after it; being but unruly waves to a
 steady rock, breaking themselves on that solid
 constitution they would break. Few aimed at
 favourites as sir John did at the lord chancellor,
 but their arrows fell on their own heads: sove-
 raignty

Q. Eliz. rainty being alwayes struck through prime counsellours, and majesty through its chief ministers. Sir John Perrot no sooner clashed with Hatton, than he lost the queen; and ever since he reflected on *his* dancing, he lost his *own* footing, and never stood on his legs.

*Observations on the Life of
Sir Francis Walsingham.*

Lloyd.

HE was a gentleman (at first) of a good house, but of a better education; and from the university travelled for the rest of his learning. He was the best linguist of the times, but knew best how to use his own tongue, whereby he came to be employed in the chiefest affairs of state. He was sent ambassadour into France, and stayed there a Leiger long, in the heat of the civil wars. At his return he was taken principal secretary, and was one of the great engines of state, and of the times, high in the queen's favour, and a watchful servant over the safety of his mistress. He acted the same part in the courts of France about that match, that Gundamor, if I be not mistaken, (saith sir Robert Naunton) did in the court of England about the Spanish. His apprehension was quick, and his judgement solid: his head was so strong, that he could look into the depth of men and business, and dive into the whirlpools of state. Dexterous he was in finding a secret, close in keep-

keeping it: much he had got by study, more by travel; which enlarged and actuated his thoughts. Cecil bred him his agent, as he bred hundreds. His converse was insinuating and reserved: he saw every man, and none saw him. His spirit was as publick as his parts; and it was his first maxime, *Knowledge is never too dear*: yet as debonnaire as he was prudent; and as obliging to the softer, but predominant parts of the world, as he was serviceable to the more severe: and no less dexterous to work on humours, than to convince reason. He would say, he must observe the joynts and flexures of affairs; and so could do more with a story, than others could with an harangue. He always surprized business, and preferred motions in the heat of other diversions; and if he must debate it, he would hear all; and with the advantage of foregoing speeches, that either cautioned or confirmed his resolutions, he carried all before him in conclusion beyond reply. He out-did the Jesuites in their own bowe, and over-reached them in their own equivocation, and mental reservation; never setting a lye, but warily drawing out and discovering truth. As the close room sucketh in most air, so this wary man got most intelligence, being most of our papists confessor before their death, as they had been their brethrens before their treason. He said what another writ, *That an habit of secrecy is policy and vertue*. To him mens faces spake as much as their tongues, and their countenances were indexes of their hearts. He would so beset men with questions, and draw them on, and pick it out of them by piece-meals, that they discovered themselves whether they

Q. Eliz. they answered or were silent. This Spanish proverb was familiar to him, *Tell a Lye, and find a Truth*; and this, *Speak no more than you may safely retreat from without danger, or fairly go through with without opposition*. Some are good only at some affairs in their own acquaintance; Walsingham was ready every where, and could make a party in Rome as well as England. He waited on mens souls with his eye, discerning their secret hearts through their transparent faces.

He served himself of the factions as his mistress did, neither advancing the one, nor depressing the other: familiar with Cecil, allied to Leicester, and an oracle to Suffex. He could overthrow any matter by undertaking it, and move it so, as it *must* fall. He never broke any business, yet carried many: He could discourse any matter with them that most opposed; so that they in opposing it, promoted it. His fetches and compass to his designed speech, were things of great patience and use. Twice did he deceive the French as agent, once did he settle the Netherlands as commissioner, and twice did he alter the government of Scotland as embassadour. Once did France desire he might be recalled, because he was too hard for the council for the Hugonots; and once did Scotland request his remand, because he would have overturned their constitution: 53 agents did he maintain in foreign courts, and 18 spies: for two pistoles an order, he had all the private papers of Europe: few letters escaped his hands, whose contents he could read and not touch the seals. Bellarmine read his lectures at Rome one moneth, and Reynolds

nolds had them confuted the next. So patient was Q. Eliz. this wise man, Chiselmurst never saw him angry, Cambridge never passionate and the court never discomposed. Religion was the interest of his countrey, (in his judgment) and of his soul; therefore he maintained it as sincerely as he lived it: it had his head, his purse, and his heart. He laid the great foundation of the protestant constitution as to its policy, and the main plot against the Popish as to its ruin. He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own and the queen's presence familiarly, but dogging them out watchfully: his spies waited on some men every hour, for three years: and lest they could not keep council, he dispatched them to forraign parts, taking in new servants. His training Parry up who designed the murder of queen Elizabeth, the admitting of him under the pretence of discovering a plot to the queen's presence, and then letting him go where he would, onely on the security of a dark sentinel set over him, was a piece of reach and hazard beyond common apprehension. But kingdomes were acted by him, as well as private persons. It is a likely report (saith one) that they father on him at his return from France, when the queen expressed her fear of the Spanish designe on that kingdome with some concernment, *Madam, (saith he) be content not to fear; the Spaniard hath a great appetite, and an excellent digestion; but I have fitted him with a bone for this twenty years, that your majesty shall have no cause to doubt him: provided that if the fire chance to slack which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and now and then cast in some English fuel*

Q. Eliz. which may revive the flame. He first observed the great bishop of Winchester fit to serve the church, upon the unlikely youths first sermon at St. Alhallows Barking: he brought my lord Cooke first to the church upon some private discourse with him at his table. The queen of Scots letters were all carried to him by her own servant, whom she trusted and decyphered to him by one Philips, as they were sealed again by one Gregory, so that neither that queen or her correspondents ever perceived either the seal defaced, or the letters delayed to her dying day. * *Video & Taceo*, was his saying, before it was his mistresses motto.

He could as well fit king James his humour with sayings out of Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Tacitus: as he could king Henry's with Rablais's conceits, and the Hollander with mechanick discourses. In a word sir Francis Walsingham was a studious and temperate man; so publick-spirited, that he spent his estate to serve the kingdom; so faithful, that he bestowed his years on his queen; so learned, that he provided a library for king's colledge of his own books; which was the best for policy, as Cecil's was for history, Arundels for heraldry, Cottons for antiquity, and Ushers for divinity: finally, he equalled all the statesmen former ages discourse of and hardly hath been equalled by any in following ages.

Obfer-

* I see and hold my peace.

Observations on the Life of the Earl of Leicester.

THE lord Leicester was the youngest son then living of Dudley duke of Northumberland : he was also one of the first to whom queen Elizabeth gave that honour to be master of the horse. He was a very goodly person, and singular well featured, and all his youth well favoured, and of a sweet aspect, but high foreheaded, which was taken to be of no discommendation : but towards his latter end grew high-coloured and red-faced. The queen made him earl of Leicester for the sufferings of his ancestors sake, both in her fathers and sister's reigns. The earl of Essex his death in Ireland, and the marriage of his lady yet living, deeply stains his commendation. But in the observations of his letters and writings, there was not known a stile or phrase more religious, and fuller of the streams of devotion. He was sent governour by the queen to the united states of Holland, where we read not of his wonders; for they say Mercury, not Mars, in him had the predominancy. To the policy he had from Northumberland his father, and the publican Dudley his grandfather, he added, it is said, magick and astrology; and to his converse with wise men, his familiarity with wizards. Indeed he would say, *A states-man should be ignorant*

Q. Eliz. rant of nothing, but should have all notices either within his own or his confidents command.

His brother Ambrose was the heir to the estate, and he to the wisdom of that family. He was the most reserved man of that age, that saw all, and was invisible; carrying a depth not to be fathomed but by the *Scrcker of Hearts*. Many fell in his time, who saw not the hand that pulled them down; and as many died that knew not their own disease. He trusted not his familiars above a twelve-month together, but either transported them for foreign services, or waisted them to another world. His ambition was of a large extent, and his head-piece of a larger. Great was his influence on England, greater on Scotland, and greatest of all on Ireland and the Netherlands; where this close *genius* acted invisibly, beyond the reach of friends, or the apprehension of enemies. Declining an immediate opposition in court factions, the wary sir raised always young favourites to outshine the old ones: so balancing all others that he might be paramount himself. The modern policy and practices were but shallow to *his*; who by promoting the queen's match, could hinder it; who could decoy Hunsdon to Berwick, Pembroke to Wales, Sidney to Ireland; while what with his great train, what with his growing popularity, he was called the *heart* of the court.

To make his basis equal to his height, he enlarged and strengthened his interest by alliance with the chief nobility, to whom he was related. By his patronage of learning, over which he was chancellor; by kindness to the clergy, whose head he seemed to be; by his command over all men, whom either his favours had won, or his frowns

frowns awed ; every body being either within the Q. Eliz.
obligation of his courtesies, or the reach of his {
injuries. He advised some compliance with
Philip of Spain for the match he proposed; while
by degrees he altered religion so, as it must be
impossible ; designing queen Elizabeth for his
own bed, while she made his way to the queen
of Scots : whose refusal of him he made as fatal
to her, as his marriage would have been advan-
tageous ; (The queen of England promising to
declare her next heir to the crown of England,
in case she failed of issue upon that match.) Lei-
cester trepans Norfolk to treat a match with the
Scots queen ; and her to accept it, to both their
ruine : both being engaged in such foolish enter-
prizes by their enemies practices, as made Lei-
cester able in the head of a new association in the
queen's defence, to take off Norfolk and his la-
dies head. He was always beforehand with his
designes, being a declared enemy to after-games.

His interest was popery, until my lord North
put him upon Puritanism, but his religion nei-
ther : he promoted the French and Polish match
at court, and disparaged them in the countrey.
When cardinal Chatillian advertised her' majesty
how Leicester drove royal suiters from her court,
he was sent to another world. He that would
not hold by his favour, must fall by his frown :
archbishop Grindal not excepted. His hand be-
stowed all favours, and his brows all frowns :
the whole court was at his devotion, and half the
council at his beck. Her majesty suspected, but
durst not remove him. His intelligence was good
in Scotland, better in Ireland, best in Spain. The
country was governed by his allies, and the court

Q. Eliz. by himself. The Tower was in his servants hands, London under his creatures government, and the law managed by his confidents. His treasure was vast, his gains unaccountable, all passages to preferment being in his hand at home and abroad. He was never reconciled to her majesty under 5000*l.* nor to any subject under 500*l.* and was ever and anon out with both. All monopolies are his, who commanded most mens purses, and all mens parts. A man was oppressed if he complied with him, and undone if he opposed him. In a word, his designe was thought a crown, his parts too large for a subject, his interest too great for a servant, his depth not fathomable in *those* days, and his policy not reached in *these*.

Observations on the Life of Christopher Lord Hatton.

Lloyd. **SIR** Christopher Hatton was a gentleman who for his activity and person was taken into the queen's favour. He was first made vice-chamberlain, and shortly after advanced to the place of lord chancellor: a gentleman, that besides the graces of his person, and dancing, had also the adjectments of a strong and subtile capacity: one that could soon learn the discipline and garb both of times and court. The truth is, he had a large proportion of gifts and endowments, but too much of the season of envy. As he came, so he continued *in* the court in a mask. An honest man he was, but reserved. Sir John Perrot talked, and sir Christopher Hatton thought. His

His features set off his body, his gate his features, his carriage his gate, his parts his carriage, his prudence his parts, and his close patience his prudence. The queen loved him well for his activity, better for his parts, best of all for his abilities, which were as much above his experience, as that was above his learning, and that above his education. The little the wary man *did*, was so exactly just and discreet; and the little he *said*, was so prudent and weighty, that he was chosen to keep the queen's conscience as her chancellor, and to express her sense as her speaker: the courtiers that envied the last capacity, were by his power forced to confess their errors; and the sergeants that would not plead before him in the first, by his prudence to confess his abilities. The chancellorship was above his law, but not his parts; so pregnant and comprehensive, that he could command other men's knowledge to as good purpose as his own. Such his humility, that he did nothing without two lawyers: such his ability, that the queen did nothing without him. Two things he said he was jealous of, his mistress the queen's *Prerogatives*, and his mother the church's discipline: the one, that majesty might be at liberty to do as much good; and the other, that iniquity might not be free to as much evil as it pleased. His enemies advanced him, that they might weaken him at court by his absence, and kill him at home by a sedentariness. This even and clear man *observed* and *improved* their practices, closing with malice it self to his own advancement, and tempering the most perverse enmity to the greatest kindness.

Q. Eliz. His first preferment at court was to be one of the fifty pensioners; whence his *modest sweetness of Manners* advanced him to the privy chamber: where he had not been long, but his face and tongue (which most eloquent, which most powerful, was in those days a question) made him captain of the guard; his presence and service vice-chamberlain; and his great improvement under my lord Burleigh, placed him in that grave assembly, (the wisest convention in Europe at that time) the privy-council; where he had not late long, when his enemies as well as his friends made him chancellor and knight of the garter: the one to raise him, and the other by that rise to ruine him. *The Eagle-eyed men of those times carried up on high the Cockleshell they had a mind to crack.* A man of a pious nature, very charitable to the poor, very tender of dissenting judgements, (saying, *That neither searing nor cutting was to be used in the cause of religion*) very bountiful to scholars, (who chose him chancellor at Oxford) very exact in his place; whence he went off, though not with the applause of a great lawyer to split causes, yet with the conscience and comfort of a just man, to do equity.

Take his character from his own words, those words that prevailed with the queen of Scots to appear before the commissioners at Fotheringay, when neither queen Elizabeth's commission, nor the lord chancellor's reason, nor the power of the kingdom could perswade that good lady to it. The words are these:

“ *You are accused, but not condemned. You say
“ you are a Queen; be it so: if you are innocent,*
- *you*

“ you wrong your Reputation in avoiding tryal. Q. Eliz.
 “ You protest your self innocent, the Queen feareth
 “ the contrary not without grief and shame. To
 “ examine your innocence are these honourable,
 “ prudent, and upright Commissioners sent: glad
 “ will they be with all their hearts if they may
 “ return and report you guiltless. Believe me, the
 “ Queen her self will be much affected with joy,
 “ who affirmed to me at my coming from her, that
 “ never any thing befel her more grievous, than
 “ that you were charged with such a crime: where-
 “ fore lay aside the bootless priviledge of Royal
 “ Dignity, which here can be of no use to you,
 “ appear in Judgement, and shew your Innocence,
 “ lest by avoiding tryal, you draw upon your self
 “ suspition, and lay upon your Reputation an eter-
 “ nal blot and aspersiōn.”

Four things I observe he did that deserve a chronicle:

1. That he delayed the signing of Leicester's patent for the lieutenancy of England and Ireland, the preface to his kingdom, until that earl was sick.

2. That he reduced the chancery, and all other courts, to rules.

3. That he stood by the church against the enemies of both sides. Archbishop Whitgift when checked by others for his due severity, writes to him thus: *I think my self bound to you for your friendly Message as long as I live: It hath not a little comforted me, having received unkinde speeches not long since, &c. And therefore* (after an expostulation about some states-mens proceedings against the law and state of the realm, and

Q. Eliz. a declaration of his own resolution) saith he, *your Honour in offering that great courtesie, offered unto me as great a pleasure as I can desire. Her Majesty must be my Refuge, and I beseech you that I may use you as a means, when occasion shall serve; whereof I assure my self, and therein rest,*

John Cant.

4. That he promoted the proclamations for plain apparel, for free trade, for pure religion, and the laws against the papists.

None nobler, none less aspiring: none more busie, yet none more punctual in his hours and orders. Corpulent he was, but temperate; a batchelor, (and the onely one of the queen's favourites) yet chaste: quick were his dispatches, but weighty, *many* his orders, and *consistent*: numerous were the addressees to him, and easie the access. Seldome were his orders reversed in chancery, and seldomer his advice opposed in council. So just he was, that his sentence ~~was~~ law with the subject; so wise, that his opinion was oracle with his soveraign: so exact was queen Elizabeth, that she called upon him for an old debt, though it broke his heart; so loving, that she carried him a cordial-broth with her own hand, though it could not revive him.

Observations on the Life of the Lord Hunsdon.

THE lord Hunsdon was of the queen's nearest kindred; and on the decease of Suffex, Lloyd. both he and his son took the place of lord chamberlain. He was a fast man to his prince, and firm to his friends and servants, downright, honest, and stout-hearted, having the charge of the queen's person both in the court, and in the camp at Tilbury. The integrity of his temper allayed the greatness of his birth; which had rendered him dangerous, if the other had not vouched him faithful. He spoke big, but honestly; and was thought rather resolute than ambitious. His words were as his thoughts, and his actions as his words. He had valour enough to be an eminent souldier in ruffling times, and a renownedly honest man in queen Elizabeth's reign. His latine, saith sir Robert Naunton, and his dissimulation, were both alike. His custom of swearing, and obscenity in speaking, made him seem a worse christian than he was, and a better knight of the carpet than he should be. The politicians followed Cecil, the courtiers Leicester, and the souldiers Hunsdon, whose hands were better than his head, and his heart than both. He led so brave a train of young gallants, as after another threatned a court, but after him secured it; whose greatness was not his

Q. Eliz. his mistresses jealousy, but her safeguard. One of his blunt jests went further than others affected harangues; the one being nature, the other forced. His faithfulness made him governor of Berwick: a place of great service: and general of the English army; a place of great trust. He had something of Leicester's choler, but none of his malice. A right noble spirit, not so stupid as not to resent, not so unworthy as to retain a sense of injuries. To have the courage to observe an affront, is to be even with an adversary: to have the patience to forgive it, is to be above him. There goeth a story of him, that when his retinue, which in those times was large, would have drawn on a gentleman that had returned him a box on the ear, he forbade them in these souldier-like words: *You Rogues, cannot my Neighbour and my self exchange a box on the ear, but you must interpose?*

He might have been what he would, for relieving queen Elizabeth in her distress: he would be but what he *was*: others interests were offered him to stand upon; he was contented with his own. He suppressed the court factions, and the northern commotions; the one by his interest, the other by his valour: for the one, he had always the queen's heart; for the other, he had once a most gracious letter.

His court-favour was as lasting as his integrity. One hath left this remarque concerning him: that he should have been twice earl of Wiltshire in right of his mother Bollen. And the queen, when he was on his death-bed, ordered his patent and robes to his bed-side: where he who

could

* See Fuller in his Worthies.

could difsemble neither well nor ill, told the *Q. Eliz.* queen, *That if he was not worthy of thofe Honours when living, he was unworthy of them when dying.*

In a word, fir William Cecil was a wife man; Bacon. was reaching, Leicefter cunning; Walsingham was a patriot, and my lord Hunfdon was honeft.

Observations on the Life of Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellour of England.

AT once a moft wife and a moft learned *Lloyd.* man, of great policy, and of as great integrity; meek and refolute: more devout to follow his own confcience, than cruel to persecute others. It is enough to intimate his moderate temper, equal, and dif-engaged from violent extreams; that the first of queen Elizabeth, in the difputation between the papists and protestants, he was chosen by the privy-council one of the moderators, when fir Nicholas Bacon was the other.

The civility he shewed in prosperity, he found in adverfity: for in queen Elizabeth's time he was rather eafed, than deposed, [like another *Abiathar*, sent home by *Solomon* to his own fields in *Anatboth*] living chearfully at Cobham in Surry, where he devoted his old age to religion and study, being much comforted with the queen's visits and kindness, and more with his own

Q. Eliz. own good conscience; that (as he would often say) he had been so intent upon the *service*, as never to enjoy the *greatness* of any place he was advanced to.

Sir Henry Wotton being bound for Rome, asked his host at Siena, a man well versed in men and business, what rules he would give him for his port, conduct and carriage? *There is one short remembrance* (said he) *will carry you safe through the world; nothing but this*, (said he) *Gli Pensiere stretti, & el viso Sciolto: (i. e.) Your thoughts close, and your Countenance loose.*

The character of this prelate, a man of a calm and a reserved minde, but of a gravely obliging carriage: wise and wary; and that a solid wisdom rather than a formal; well seasoned with practice, and well broken to affairs: of a fine composition, between frugality and magnificence: a great cherisher of manual arts, especially such as tended to splendour or ornament; entertaining the most exquisite artists with a settled pension. Equally divided he was between the priest and the states-man; great with his double power, ecclesiastical and civil: by nature more reserved than popular, with virtues fitter to beget estimation than love. In his chancellourship he was served with able followers, rather by choice than number, and with more neatness and service than noise. As midland countries in busie times are most secure, as being farthest, and most participating of the common interest: so your moderate and middle men in troublesome and perplexed times, are most quiet, as least concerned in the respective controversies, and most intent upon the common good.

Obser-

Observations on the Life of
Sir William Pickering.

HIS extraction was not noble, his estate Lloyd; but mean; yet was his person so comely, his carriage so elegant, his life so gravely reserved and studious, and his embassies in France and Germany so well managed, that in king Edward's days he was by the council pitched upon, as the oracle, whereby our agents were to be guided abroad; and in queen Elizabeth's, designed by common vote for the prince by whom we were to be governed at home. He received extraordinary favours, no doubt, so deserving he was: he was wished to more, he was so popular: and when his service was admitted to her majesties bosome, all fancies but his own placed his person in her bed. And I find him a prince in this, that retiring from those busie bussings in the state, wherein he might be matched or outdone, he devoted his large soul to those more sublime and noble researches in his study, wherein he sat monarch of hearts and letters. Anxious posterity no doubt enquires what great endowments could raise so private a man to such publick honour and expectation; and it must imagine him one redeemed by the politure of good education, from his younger vanities and simplicities, his rustick ignorance, his clownish confidence, his brutish dulness, his country solitude,
his

Q. Eliz. his earthly ploddings, his beggerly indigencies, or covetous necessities; racked and refined from the lees of sensual and inordinate lust, from swelling and surly pride, from base and mean designs, from immoderate affections, violent passions, unreasonable impulses, and depraved aspects; of a strong and handsome body, a large and publick soul, of a gentle and patient access, of benign and just resentments, a grand awful presence. This is he that is born to teach the world, *That Vertue and Wariness make Kings as well as Gods.*

Observations on the Life of Cuthbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham.

Lloyd. **A** Man passing well seen in all kind of polished literature; who having run through many degrees of honour at home, and worthily performed several embassies abroad, was very hot against the pope's primacy in his young days, very moderate for it in his middle years, and very zealous in his old age: like the waters in Curtius, that are hot at midnight, warm in the morning, and cold at noon. In the reign of queen Mary he spake more harshly against the protestants, (calling bishop Hooper *Beast* for being married) than he acted, being politickly presumed to bark the more, that he might bite the less; and observed to threaten much in London;

don, and do little in his own diocess: for IQ. Eliz. meet (saith my author) with a marginal note in Mr. Foxe, which indeed justly deserved even in the fairest letters to be inserted in the body of his book: *Note, that Bishop Tonsal in queen Mary's days was no great bloody Persecutor: for Mr. Russel a Preacher was before him, and Dr. Hinner his Chancellour, would have had him examined more particularly: the Bishop staid him, saying, Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours; I pray you bring not this man's blood upon my head.*

When the more violent bishops were confined to close prisons, *primo Elizabethæ* he lived in *Free custody* at my lord of Canterbury's, in sweet chambers, warm beds, by warm fires, with plentiful and wholesome diet at the archbishop's own table: differing nothing from his former grandeur, save that that was at his own charges, and this at another's; and that he had not his former suit of superfluous servants, that long train that doth not *warm* but *weary* the wearer thereof. In a word, his custody did not so much sowre his freedome, as his freedome sweetned his custody; where his soul was most free, using not once those oracles of *Seneca*, *That the good things of Prosperity are to be wisbed, and the good things of Adversity to be admired.* It's true greatness to have at once the frailty of a man, and the security of a god. Prosperity (saith my lord Bacon) is the blessing of the old testament, and adversity of the new. the first wants not its fears and distates, therein therefore our prelate was temperate; nor the second its comforts and hopes, and therein he was resolved: in the

Q. Eliz. (——* *virtus vel in hoste*) he was not vicious,
 under the other he was vertuous.

*Observations on the Life of Sir
 Francis Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.*

Lloyd.

Nobility without vertue is a disgrace, vertue without nobility low: but nobility adorned with vertue, and vertue embellished by nobility, raiseth a man high as nature reacheth: and he in whom these two concur, hath all the glory a man can attain unto, *viz.* both an *Inclination* and a *Power* to do well.

This is the man whose greatness was but the servant to his goodness, and whose honour the instrument of his vertue; who was revered like the heavens he bore, for his beneficence, as well as for his glory. He saw four troublesome reigns, but not troubled himself, as one that was so espoused to the common and grand concerns of mankind, as to be uninterested in the particular and petty designe of any party of *it*.

He had friends (and none more sure to them, or more devoted to that sacred thing called friendship) to ease his heart to, to support his judgement by, to reform, or at least to observe his defect in, to compose his mind with; but none to countenance in a faction, or side with in a quarrel: *Usefulness* is a bond that tieth great and good men, and not *respects*.

How

• • Virtue even in an enemy.

How low learning ran in our land among our native nobility some two hundred years since, in the reign of king Henry the sixth, too plainly appeareth by the motto in the sword of the martial earl of Shrewsbury, (where (saith my author) at the same time a man may smile at the simplicity, and sigh at the barbarousness thereof) *Sum Talboti pro occidere inimicos meos*: the best latine that lord, and perchance his chaplain too in that age could afford. The case was much altered here, where this lord's grandchilde was at once the chiefest counsellour, and the most eminent scholar of his age. It's a reverend thing to see any ancient piece standing against time, much more to see an ancient family standing against fortune. Certainly princes that have able men of their nobility, shall finde ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business: for people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

Observations on the Life of *Sir Thomas Challoner.*

THIS gentleman's birth in London made him quick, his education in Cambridge knowing, and his travel abroad expert. In Henry the eighth's time he preserved Charles the fifth in the expedition of Algier: where being ship-wracked, after he had swum till his strength and arms

E c 2

failed

Q. Eliz. failed him, at length he catching hold of a cable with his teeth, he escaped, not without the loss of some of his teeth. (We are consecrated by dangers to services; and we know not what we can *do*, until we have seen all we can *fear*.) In Edward the sixth's reign, he behaved himself so manly at Muscleborough, that the protector honoured him with a knighthood, and his lady with a jewel; the *delicate* and valiant man at once pleasing *Mars* and his *Venus* too. The first week of queen Elizabeth's reign, he is designed an embassadour of honour to the emperour; such his port and carriage! and the second year, her Leiger for business in Spain; such his trust and abilities! the first he performed not with more gallantry, than he did the second with policy; bearing up king Philip's expectation of the match with England for three years effectually, until he had done the queen's business abroad, and she had done her own at home. In Spain he equally divided his time between the scholar and the states-man, his recreation and his business; for he refreshed his more careful time with a pure and learned verse, *de rep. Anglorum instauranda*, in five books, whilst as he writes in the preface to that book, he lived *Hieme in furno, æstate in Horreo*: i. e. wintered in a stove, and summered in a barn. He understood the concerns of this estate well, and those of his own better; it being an usual saying, engraven on all his plates and actions, *Frugality is the left hand of Fortune, and Diligence the right*. Anthony Brown viscount Mountacute urged with much zeal and many arguments the *Danger* and *Dis honour* of revolt-
ing off from the catholick and mother-church:
fir

Q. Eliz.
 fir Thomas Challoner with more eloquence enlarged on the just cause for which we deceded from the errours of Rome the true authority by which we deceded from the usurpation of Rome, and the moderation in what we deceded from the superstition of Rome.

When the Spanish embassadour urged that some catholicks might with the queen's leave remain in Spain; he answered him in a large declaration, *That though the instance seemed a matter of no great moment, yet seeing the Parties concerned would not receive so much advantage by the license as the Commonwealth would damage by the President, it was neither fit for the King of Spain to urge, or for the queen of England to grant.* He was very impatient of injuries, pressing his return home when his coffers were searched, but admonished by his mistress, *That an Embassadour must take all things in good part that bath not a direct tendency to the Prince's dishonour, or his Countries danger.* His death was as honourable as his life, fir William Cecil being chief mourner at his funeral, St. Paul's containing his grave, and he leaving a hopeful son that should bring up future princes, as he had served the present; being as worthy a Tutor to the hopeful prince Henry, as his father had been a faithful servant to the renowned queen Elizabeth.

Oba. 1
 65.

Observations on the Life of *Sir Edward Waterhouse.*

Lloyd.

SIR Edward Waterhouse was born at Helmsedbury Hartfordshire: of an ancient and worshipful family, deriving their descent lineally from sir Gilbert Waterhouse of Kyrton in Low-Lindsey in the county of Lincoln, in the time of king Henry the third. As for our sir Edward, his parents were,

John Waterhouse esquire, a man of much fidelity and fageness, auditor many years to king Henry the eighth; of whom he obtained (after a great entertainment for him in his house) the grant of a weekly market for the town of Helmsed.

Margaret Turner of the ancient house of Blunts-Hall in Suffolk, and Cannons in Hertfordshire.

* The king at his departure honoured the children of the said John Waterhouse, being brought before him, with his praise and encouragement, gave a Benjamin's portion of dignation to this Edward; foretelling by his royal augury, that he would be the crown of them all, and

* By the learned, industrious, and ingenious Edward Waterhouse, Esquire, of Sion-Colledge.

and a man of great honour and wisdom, fit for Q. Eliz. the service of princes. It pleased God afterwards to second the word of the king, so that the sprouts of his hopeful youth onely pointed at the growth and greatness of his honourable age. For, being but twelve years old, he went to Oxford; where for some years he glistered in the oratorick and poetick sphere, until he addicted himself to conversation, and observance of state-affairs, wherein his great proficiency commended him to the favour of three principal patrons. One was Walter Devereux earl of Essex, who made him his bosome-friend; and the said earl lying on his death-bed took his leave of him with many kisses: *Oh my Ned, Oh my Ned,* (said he) *Farewel: thou art the faithfullest and friendliest Gentleman that ever I knew.* In testimony of his true affection to the dead father in his living son, this gentleman is thought to have penned that most judicious and elegant epistle, (recorded in Holinshed's history, p. 1266.) and presented it to the young earl, conjuring him by the cogent arguments of example and rule to patrizare.

His other patron was sir Henry Sidney, (so often lord deputy of Ireland) whereby he became incorporated into the familiarity of his son sir Philip Sidney; between whom and sir Edward there was so great friendliness, that they were never better pleased than when in one anothers companies, or when they corresponded each with other. And we finde after the death of that worthy knight, that he was a close-concerned mourner at his obsequies, as appeareth at large
in

Q. Eliz. in the printed representation of his funeral solemnnity.

His third patron was sir John Perrot, deputy also of Ireland; who so valued his council, that in state affairs he would do nothing without him. So great his employment betwixt state and state, that he crossed the seas thirty seven times, until deservedly at last he came into a port of honour, wherein he sundry years anchored and found safe harbour. For he receiving the honour of knight-hood, was sworn of her majesties privy-council for Ireland, and chancellor of the exchequer therein. Now his grateful-soul coursing about how to answer the queen's favour, laid it self wholly out in her service: wherein two of his actions were most remarkable. First, he was highly instrumental in modelling the kingdome of Ireland into shires, as now they are, shewing himself so great a lover of the polity under which he was born, that he advanced the compliance therewith (as commendable and necessary) in the dominions annexed thereunto. His second service was, when many in that kingdome shrowded themselves from the laws, under the target of power, making force their tutelary saint, he set himself vigorously to suppress them. And when many of the privy-council, terrified with the greatness of the earl of Desmond, durst not subscribe the instrument wherein he was proclaimed traytor, sir Edward amongst some others boldly signed the same, (disavowing his, and all treasons against his friends and country) and the council did the like, commanding the publication thereof. As to his private sphere, God blessed him, being but a third brother, above
his

his other brethren. Now, though he had three Q. Eliz. wives, the first a Villiers, the second a Spilman, the third the widow of Herlakenden of Woodchurch in Kent, esquire; and though he had so strong a brain and body, yet he lived and died childless, intercommoning therein with many worthies, who are, according to *Ælius Spartianus*, either improlifick, or have children * in *Genitorum Vituperium & famarum Læsuram*. God thus denying him the pleasure of posterity, he craved leave of the queen to retire himself, and fixed the residue of his life at Woodchurch in Kent, living there in great honour and repute, as one who had no designe to be popular, and not prudent; rich, and not honest; great, and not good. He died in the 56 year of his age, the 13 of October, 1591. and is buried at Woodchurch under a table-marble monument, erected to his memory by his sorrowful lady surviving him.

Observations on the Life of the Duke of Norfolk.

HIS predecessors made more noyse it may be, but he had the greater fame: their greatness was feared, his goodness was loved. He was heir to his uncles ingenuity, and his father's

* To the Reproach of their Ancestors, and to the injury of their own Reputation.

Q. Eliz. ther's valour; and from both derived as well
 the *Laurel* as the *Coronet*.

His God and his sovereign were not more taken with the ancient simplicity that lodged in his plain breast, than the people were endeared by that noble humility that dwelt in his plainer cloaths and carriage. (The most honourable personages, like the most honourable coats of arms, are least gaudy.) In the election of the first parliament of queen Elizabeth, and as a consequent to that in the settlement of the kingdom, sir William Cecil's wisdom did much, the earl of Arundel's industry more, but the duke of Norfolk's popularity did most. Never peer more dread, never more dear: as he could engage the people to comply with their sovereign at home, so he could lead them to serve her abroad. That martial but unfortunate gentleman William lord Grey, draweth first towards Scotland, (for the first cloud that would have darkened our glorious star, came from the north, *Whence all evil*, is equally our proverb and our experience) as warden of the middle and east marches: but he is seconded by the duke, as lieutenant-general of the north-parts; where his presence commands a treaty, and his authority a league, offensive and defensive, to balance the French interest, to reduce the north parts of Ireland, and to keep the peace of both kingdoms. Now as the watchful duke discovered by some private passages and letters that Scotland was to be invaded by the French. so he writ to his sovereign, that notwithstanding the Spanish and French embassadors overtures, she would proceed resolutely in her preparations for Scotland; as she did under
 his

his conduct, until the young queen was glad to Q. Eliz. submit; and the king of France, by Cecil and Throgmorton's means now be busied at home, to come to terms.

He brought the kingdome to musters, the people to ply husbandry, the nobility to keep armories, and the justicers to salaries. The ensignes of St. Michael were bestowed upon him as the noblest, and on Leicester as the dearest person at court: now Arundel, who had spent his own estate in hope of the queen's, under pretence of recovering his health, travelled abroad to mitigate his grief. When the earls of Pembroke and Leicester were openly for the queen's marriage, for the future security of our present happiness; the duke, though privately of their minde, yet would discourse,

1. That successors take off the peoples eyes from the present soveraign.

2. That it was the safest way to keep all competitors in suspence.

3. That successors, though not designed, may succeed.

4. Whereas when known, they have been undone by the arts of their competitors.

5. And that most men (whatever the busie agitators of the succession pretended) have no more feeling in publick matters than concerneth their own private interest. But he had a private kindness for the queen of Scots, which he discovered in all the treaties wherein she was concerned.

1. In love-letters to her, notwithstanding that queen Elizabeth bid him take care what pillow *he rested his head on.* 2. In his mediations at court so importune for her, that the queen would say,

Q. Eliz. say, *The Queen of Scots shall never want an Advocate while Norfolk lives.* And, 3. By some private transaction with the pope and Spaniard: to which Leicester's craft trepanned him against his friend Cecil's advice, which in a dangerous juncture cost him his life. For the people wishing (for the security of the succession in a protestant and an English hand) that the good duke were married to the mother, and his onely daughter to her young son; subtile Leicester and Throgmorton laid a train for the plain man by conferences with Murray, Cecil, &c. until a plot was discovered; and the duke, notwithstanding Cecil's advice to marry a private lady, retiring to Norfolk to finish the match with the queen, was upon letters taken with Rosse surprized, and committed to the Tower, he saying, *I am betrayed and undone by mine own, whilst I knew not how to mistrust, which is the strength of wisdom.* After a solemn tryal, he is beheaded for indiscretions rather than treasons, losing his head because he wanted one. Never any fell more beloved, or more pitied: such his singular courtesie, such his magnificent bounty, not unbecoming so great a peer. High was his nobility, large his interest, singularly good his nature, comely his person, manly his countenance, who (saith Cambden) might have been a great strength and ornament to his country, had not the cunning practices of his malicious adversaries, and slippery hopes, under colour of publick good, diverted it from his first course of life. His death was a blot to some mens justice, to all mens discretion that were concerned in it; as generally odious, though quietly endured: which
proves

proves (saith one) *That the common people are like Q. Eliz. rivers, which seldome grow so impetuous as to transcend the bounds of obedience, but upon the overflowing of a general oppression.*

Observations on the Life of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

SIR Nicholas Throgmorton, fourth son of Sir **Lloyd.** George Throgmorton of Coughton in Warwickshire, was bred beyond the seas, where he attained to great experience. Under queen Mary he was in Guild-hall arraigned for treason, (in compliance with Wiat) and by his own wary pleading, and the juries upright verdict, hardly escaped. Queen Elizabeth employed him her leiger a long time, first in France, then in Scotland, finding him a most able minister of state: yet got he no great wealth; and no wonder, being ever of the opposite party to Burleigh lord treasurer: chamberlain of the exchequer, and chief butler of England, were his highest preferments. I say, chief butler; which office, like an empty-covered cup, pretended to some state, but afforded no considerable profit. He died at supper with eating of fallads: not without suspicion of poyson; the rather, because it happened in the house of one no mean artist in that faculty, R. earl of Leicester. His death, as it was sudden, was seasonable for him and his, whose active (others will call it turbulent) spirit had brought him

Q. Eliz. him unto such trouble as might have cost him, at least, the loss of his personal estate. He died in the 57 year of his age, Febr. 12, 1570. and lieth buried in the south side of the Chancel of St. Martin Cree-church London.

A *stout* and a wise man, that saw through pretences, and could look beyond dangers. His skill in heraldry appears in his *grim* arguments against the king of France, in right of his queen of Scots usurping the arms of England; and his experience in history, in his peremptory declarations of the queen of England's * title in the right of her twelve predecessors to those of France. But his policy much more, by putting Montmorency, the great enemy of the Guizes, upon perswading his master out of the humour of wearing those arms, with this argument, *That it was below the arms of France to be quartered with those of England; those being comprehensive of these and all other of his majesties dominions.* An argument more suitable to that prince his ambition, than convincing to his reason. Wise men speak rather what is most *fit*, than what is most *rational*; not what *demonstrates*, but what *perswades* his hearers, and *takes*. But being endangered in his person, affronted in his retinue, and served with nothing at his table but what had the arms of England quartered with those of France, he dealt underhand with the earl of Northumberland, to understand the scope the reformed propounded to themselves, their means to compass what they aimed at, and (if at any time they were assisted) upon what terms a league might be concluded between

* Which he made out from Dr. Wotton's discourse on that subject at Cambray.

between the two kingdomes. The advices collected from all his observations he sent to the queen, were these :

1. That she should not rest in *dull counsels* of what is *lawful*, but proceed to *quick resolutions* of what is *safe*.

2. That to prevent, is the policy of all nations, and to be powerful, of ours. *England is never peaceable but in arms.*

3. That how close soever they managed their affairs, it was a maxime, * *That France can neither be poor, nor abstain from war three years together.*

Francis earl of Bedford bore the state of the French embassy, and sir Nicholas the burden, who gave dayly directions to sir Thomas Chaloner in Spain, sir Henry Killigrew in Germany, and sir Thomas Randolph and sir Peter Mewtas in Scotland : to the two first, to enjealous the princes of those countries ; and to the last, to unite the nobility of Scotland ; he in the meantime suffering himself to be taken prisoner by the Protestants at the battle of Dreux, that he might with less suspicion impart secret counsels to them, and receive as secret advices from them ; until discovering their lightness and unconstancy, they secured him as a person too cunning for the whole faction, and too skilful in raising hurley-burleys and commotions. When the young queen of Scots would needs marry the young lord Darnley, he told her that was long to be deliberated on which was to be done but *once*. And when that would

* To which queen Elizabeth addeth a saying of Valentians, " Have the French for thy friend, not for thy neighbour. "

Q. Eliz. would not do, he advised, 1. That an army should appear upon the borders: 2. That the ecclesiastical laws should be in force against papists: 3. That Hereford should be secured: and 4. That the lord Dudley should be advanced. But the queen being married to the lord Darnley, an easie and good-natured man, whom queen Elizabeth wished to her bed next Leicester, and affronted by her subjects, Throgmorton disputes the queen's authority and non-accountableness to any against Buchanan's damned * dialogue of the people's power over kings: until smelling their designe of revolt to the French, and cruelty upon the queen, he perswaded her to resign her government, saying, *That her resignation extorted in prison, which was a just fear, was utterly void.* The next news we hear of this busie man, was in his two advisoers to the queen of Scots friends: 1. To clap up † Cecil, whom they might then (he said) deal with: 2. To proclaim the queen of Scots succession; and in the train he laid to serve Leicester in the duke of Norfolks ruine. But he was too familiar with that politician's privacy, to live long: anno 1570, he died. A man, saith mr. Cambden, *of great experience, passing sharp wit, and singular diligence*; an over-curious fancy, and a too nimble activity: like your too fine silks or linen, and more for shew than service; never blessing their owners but when allayed with something of the *heavy* and the *wary*; nor rising, but when stayed.

Obser-

* De jure Reg. apud Scotos.

† About moneys transported beyond seas.

*Observations on the Life of Edward
Earl of Derby.*

HIS greatness supported his goodness, and his goodness endeared his greatness; his heighth being looked upon with a double aspect: Lloyd.
1. By himself, as an advantage of beneficence:
2. By others, as a ground of reverence. His great birth put him above private respects, but his great soul never above publick service. Indeed he repaired by ways thrifty, yet noble, what his ancestors had impaired by neglect. Good Husbandry may as well stand with great honour, as breadth may consist with heighth. His travel when young, at once gained experience, and saved expences; and his marriage was as much to his profit as his honour. And now he sheweth himself in his full grandeur, when the intireness of his minde, complied with the largeness of his soul.

1. In a spreading charity. Other lords made many poor by oppression; he and my lord of Bedford, as queen Elizabeth would jest, made all the beggars by their liberality.

2. In a famous hospitality: wherein, 1. His house was orderly; a college of discipline, rather than a palace for entertainment; his servants being so many young gentlemen trained up to govern themselves by observing him; who knew their master, and understood themselves. 2. His

Q. Eliz. provision native ; (*all the necessaries of England are bred in it*) rather plentiful than various, solid than dainty, that cost him less, and contented his guests more. His table constant and even, where all were welcome, and none invited. 3. His hall was full most commonly, his gates always ; the one with the honest gentry and yeomen, who were his retainers in love and observance, bringing good stomachs to his table, and resolved hearts for his service ; the holding up of his hand in the Northern business, being as effectual as the displaying of a banner : The other with the, 1. Aged. 2. Maimed. 3. Industrious poor, whose craving was prevented with doles, and expectation with bounty ; the first being provided with meat, the second with money, and the third with employment. In a word, Mr. Cambden observes, That hospitality lieth buried since 1572, in this earl's grave : whence may that divine power raise it, that shall raise him ; but before the last resurrection, when there will be plenty to bestow in one part of the world, and no poor to be relieved ; poverty in the other and no bounty to relieve.

Neither was he munificent upon other mens charge : for once a moneth he looked into his incomes, and once a week to his disbursements, that none should wrong him, or be wronged by him. The earl of Derby, he would say, *shall keep his own house* : wherefore it's an observation of him and the second duke of Norfolk, That when they were buried, not a tradesman could demand the payment of a groat that they owed him, nor a neighbour the restitution of a penny they had wronged him. They say, The grass groweth
not

not where the grand Seigniors *horse treads*; nor Q. Eliz. doth the people thrive where the noblemen inhabit: but here every tenant was a gentleman, and every gentleman my lord's companion: such his civility towards the one, and great penny-worths to the other. Noblemen in those days esteemed the love of their neighbours more than their fear, and the service and fealty of their tenants more than their money. Now the landlord hath the sweat of the tenants brow in his coffers, then he had the best blood in his veins at his command.

That grand word, *On mine honour*, was security enough for a kingdome, and the onely asseveration he used. It was his priviledge, that he *need* not swear for a testimony; and his renown, that he would not for his honour. Great was this families esteem with the people, and eminent their favour with their soveraigns; as which ever bestowed itself in obliging their Liege-people, improving their interest, and supporting their throne: for though they were a long time great kings of *Man* and hearts, yet were they as long faithfull subjects to England.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Fitz-Williams.

A Child of fortune from his cradle, made up Lloyd. of confidence and reputation: never unwarily shewing his vertue or worth to the world with any disadvantage.

Q. Eliz.

When Britain had as little sleepiness and sloath as night, when it was all day, and all activity; he, as all young sparks of that age, trailed a pike in the Netherlands, (the seminary of the English soldiery, and the school of Europe's discipline) as a souldier, and travelled as a gentleman; until that place graced him civilly with a command, which he had honoured eminently with his service. His friends checked him for undertaking an employment so boisterous; and he replied upon them, That it *was* as necessary as it *seemed* irregular: for if some were not souldiers, all must be so. He said, He never durst venture on war with men, till he had made his peace with God: a good conscience breeds great resolutions, and the innocent soul is impregnable: none more fearful of doing evil, none more resolved to suffer: there being no hardship that he would avoid, no undecency that he would allow. Strict he was to his commission, and yet observant of his advantage: never tempting a danger, never flying it: careful of his first *life* and himself, but more of his *other* and his name. When the methods of obedience advanced him to the honour of commanding, six things he was chronicled for.

1. Never making the aged, the young, or the weak, the objects of his rage, which could not be so of his fear.

2. That he never basely killed in *cold* blood, them that had nobly escaped his sword in *hot*.

3. That he never led the souldiers without pay, or quartered in the country without money.

4. That though he was second to none that acted in war, such his valour! yet he was the
first

first that spake for peace, such his sweet disposition ! Q. Eliz.

5. That he would never suffer that a clergyman should be abused, a church violated, or the dead be unburied.

6. That he would never force an enemy to a necessity ; always saying, *let us disarm them of their best weapons, despair* : nor fight an enemy before he had skirmished him, nor undertake a designe before he had consulted his God, his council, his friends, his map and his history.

His own abilities commended, and his alliance with sir Henry Sidney lord deputy, whose sister he married, promoted him to the government of Ireland. Once did the queen send him thither for his brothers sake, four times more for his own sake ; a sufficient evidence (saith my friend) of his ability and integrity, since princes never trust *twice*, where they are *once* deceived in a minister of state. He kept up his mistresses interest, and she his authority ; enjoyning the earl of Essex, so much above him in honour, to truckle under him in commission when governor of Ulster, and he lord deputy of Ireland. *Defend me*, said Luther to the duke of Saxony, *with your sword, and I will defend you with my pen. Maintain my power*, saith the minister of state to his sovereign, *and I will support your majesty.*

Two things he did for the settlement of that kingdome :

1. He raised a composition in Munster.
2. He established the possessions of the lords and tenants in Monaghan.

Severe he was always against the Spanish faction, but very vigilant in——88, when the dis-

Q. Eliz. perſed armado did look, but durſt not land in Ireland, except driven by tempeſt, and then finding the ſhore worſe than the ſea. But Leiſceſter dieth, and he fails; when his ſun was ſet, it was preſently night with him. *Yra la ſoga con el calderon*; where goeth the bucket, *there goeth the rope*; where the principal miſcarrieth, all the dependants fall with him; as our renowned knight, who died where he was born, (there is a circulation of all things to their original) at Milton in Northamptonſhire, 1594.


Observations on the Life of the Earl of Pembroke.

Lloyd. **A**N excellent man, and one that faſhioned his *own fortune*: his diſpoſition got favour, and his prudence wealth, (the firſt to grace the ſecond, and the ſecond to ſupport the firſt) under king Henry the eighth, whoſe brother in law he was by his wife, and chamberlain by his place. When others were diſtracted with factions in king Edward's reign, he was intent upon his intereſt, (leaning (as he ſaid) *on both ſides the ſtairs to get up*) for his ſervice, being promoted to the maſter of the horſe's place; for his relation to the queen mother, to the order of St. George; and in his own right, to the barony of Caerdiffe, and the earldome of Pembroke.

Under queen Mary his popularity was very ſerviceable when general againſt Wiat; his au-
tho-

thority useful, when president of Wales; and Q. Eliz. his vigilancy remarkable, when governor of Calice: and under queen Elizabeth, for his fidelity and ancient honesty he was made great master of the household. But herein he failed, that being more intent upon the future state of the kingdom under the succession, than his own under the present sovereign, he was cajoled by Leicester to promote the queen of Scots match with Norfolk so far, (neither with an ill will, (saith the annalist) nor a bad intent) as to lose his own favour with the queen of England, who discovered those things after his death that made him weary of his life: which was an instance of my lord Bacon's rule, That ancient nobility is more innocent, though not so active as the young one; this more vertuous, but not so plain as that; there being rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. He was richer in his tenants hearts than their rents: alas! what hath not that nobleman, that hath an universal love from his tenants? who were observed to live better with their encouraged industry upon his copyhold, than others by their secure sloath on their own free-land. 2. His chaplains, whose merits were preferred freely and nobly to his excellent livings, without any unworthy gratuities to his *Gebazi's* or servants, or any unbecoming obligations to himself. 3 His servants, whose youth had its education in his family, and age its maintenance upon his estate, which was favourably let out to tenants, and freely leased to his servants; of whom he had a train upon any occasion in his family, and an army in his neighbourhood; an army, I say, in his neighbourhood;

not

Q. Eliz. not to enjealous his prince, but to secure him  as in Wiats case, when this *king of hearts* would be by no means a *knave of clubs*.

Observations on the Life of Sir Walter Mildmay.

Lloyd.

WALTER MILD MAY, that upright and most advised man, was born at Chelmsford in Essex, where he was a younger son to Thomas Mildmay, esquire. He was bred in Christs-colledge in Cambridge, where he did not (as many young gentlemen) study onely in complement, but seriously applyed himself to his book. Under king Henry the eighth, and king Edward the sixth, he had a gainful office in the court of augmentations: during the reign of queen Mary, he practised the politick precept, **bene vixit, qui bene latuit*. No sooner came queen Elizabeth to the crown, but he was called to state employment; and it was not long before he was made chancellour of the exchequer. It is observed, That the exchequer never feareth ill but under a good prince; such who out of conscience will not oppress their people, whilst tyrants pass not for that they squeeze out of their subjects. Indeed queen Elizabeth was very careful not to have her coffers swelled with the consumption of her kingdome, and had conscientious officers under her; amongst whom sir Walter was a principal one. This knight, sensible of
God's

* He has lived well, who has retired well.

God's blessing on his estate, and knowing that *Omne beneficium requirit officium*, cast about to make his return to God. He began with his benefactions to Christs-colledge Cambridge, onely to put his hand in practice; then his bounty embraced the generous resolution, (which the painful piety of St. Paul propounds to himself, viz.) *Not to build on another man's foundation*, but on his own cost he erected a new colledge in Cambridge by the name of Immanuel. A right godly gentleman he was; a good man, and a good citizen; though some of his back friends suggested to the queen that he was a better patriot than subject: and he was over-popular in parliaments, infomuch that his life set *sub nebula*, under a cloud of aroyal displeasure: yet was not the cloud so great, but that the beams of his innocence meeting those of the queen's candour, had easily dispelled it had he survived longer, as appeared by the great grief of the queen, professed for the loss of so grave a counsellour, who leaving two sons and three daughters, died anno domini 1589.

This gentleman being employed by vertue of his place to advance the queen's treasure, did it industriously, faithfully and conscionably, without wronging the subject, being very tender of their privileges; infomuch that he complained in parliament, *That many subsidies were granted and no grievances redressed*: which words being represented to his disadvantage to the queen, made her to disaffect him, setting in a court-cloud, but (as he goeth on) in the sunshine of his country, and a *clear conscience*, (though a mans conscience can be said no otherwise clear by his opposition to the

* Every favour demands a return.

Q. Eliz. the court, than a man is said to have a good heart when it is but a bold one.) But coming to court after he had founded his colledge, the queen told him, *Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation.* No, Madam, said he, *far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your established Laws : But I have set an Acorn ; which when it comes to be an Oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit of it.*

Observations on the Life of Sir John Fortescue.

Lloyd.

AN upright and a knowing man, a great master of *Greek* and *Latine*, and overseer of the qu: studies in both the languages ; master of the wardrobe, one whom she trusted with the ornaments of her soul and body : succeeding sir Walter Mildway in his prudence and piety, and in his place of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer.

Two men qu: Elizabeth would say out-did her expectation ; Fortescue for *Integrity*, and Walsingham for *Subtlety*, as Cambden writes, and *Officious services*. His and Rawleigh's failure was their designe of articling with K. James at his first coming, not so much (say some in their behalf) for himself, as for his followers, in regard of the known feud between the nations. However, conditions unworthy of English subjects to offer, and below the K. of Great Britain
to

to receive, who is to make no more terms for Q. Eliz.
his kingdome than for his birth. The very so-
lemn asking of the people's consent, which the
arch-bishop of Canterbury in all the corners of
the stage at a coronation makes, importing no
more than this; *Do you the people of England*
acknowledge, that this is the Person who is the
Heir of the crown? They being absolutely obli-
ged to submit to the government upon suppo-
sition that they absolutely believe that he is the
king.

He thought it not convenient to alter frames
of government, in compliance with the hu-
mours of people, which are to be managed by
government, not pleased; for he said God
changed not the order of the government of the
world to comply with man's defects, when he
can by his Almighty power draw good out of
their evils, and great glory to himself out of the
fall of others, as in nature he doth not fit the
frame of things to the ugly nature of monsters;
but the irregular shape of monsters to the beauty
of things, being of opinion, that we should
thank our governour, (as the Æthiopian slaves
do their emperour when they are fashed; and
we should God when we are corrected) for think-
ing of us, and having a care of us as universal
as that God hath of the world, whom rulers re-
present within their dominions, having much
of the character that God hath in the uni-
verse; viz. *That he is a Circle whose center is*
every where, and Circumference no where.

Observations on the Life of Sir William Drury.

Lloyd.

SIR William Drury was born in Suffolk, where his Worshipful Family had long flourished at Haulsted. His name in Saxon soundeth a Pearl, to which he answered in the pretiousness of his disposition, clear and hard, innocent and valiant, and therefore valued deservedly by his queen and country. His youth was spent in the French wars, his middle Age in Scotland, and his old Age in Ireland. He was Knight-Marshal of Barwick, at what time the French had possessed themselves of the castle of Edinburgh, in the minority of King James. Queen Elizabeth employed this sir William with 1500 men to besiege the Castle; which service he right worthily performed, reducing it within few days to the owner thereof. Anno 1575, he was appointed Lord President of Munster, whether he went with competent Forces, and executed impartial Justice in despite of the opposers thereof. For as the Signe of Leo immediately precedeth Virgo and Libra in the Zodiack; so I hope not that Innocency will be protected, or Justice administered in a barbarous Country, where power and strength do not first secure a passage unto them. But the Earl of Desmond opposed this good President, forbidding him to enter the County of Kerry, as a Palatinate peculiarly appropriated unto himself. Know by the way, as there were but four Palatinates in England,

land, Chester, Lancaster, Durham and Ely, (where-^{Q. Eliz:} of the two former many years since were in effect invested in the Crown) there were no fewer than eight Palatinates in Ireland, possessed by their respective Dynasts claiming Regal Rights therein, to the great retarding of the absolute Conquest of that Kingdome. Amongst these, (saith my Author) Kerry became the Sanctuary of Sin, and Refuge of Rebels, as outlawed from any Jurisdiction. Sir William no whit terrified with the earl's threatening, and declaring that no place should be a privilege to mischief, entered Kerry with a competent Train, and there dispenced Justice to all persons, as occasion did require. Thus with seven-score men he safely forced his return through seven hundred of the Earl's, who sought to surprize him.

In the last year of his life he was made lord deputy of Ireland; and no doubt had performed much in his place, if not afflicted with constant sickness, the forerunner of his death, at Waterford, 1598.

He was one of that military valour which the lord Verulam wisheth about a prince in troublesome times, that held a good esteem with the populacy, and an exact correspondence with the noble; whereby he united himself to each side by endearments, and divided them by distrust; watching the slow motions of the people, that they should not be excited and spirited by the nobility; and the ambition of the great ones, that it should not be befriended with the turbulence, or strengthened with the assistance of the commonalty. One great act well followed did his business with the natives, whom he sometimes

Q. Eliz. times *indulged*; (giving their discontents liberty to evaporate) and with the strangers, whom he always *awed*. In those that were commended to his service, he observed two things: 1. That they were not advanced for their dependence, because they promote a party: which he noted to be the first ground of recommendation: 2. Nor for their weakness, because they cannot hinder it: which he remarked to be the second.

*Observations on the Life of
Sir Thomas Smith.*

Lloyd.

SIR Thomas Smith was born at * Saffron-Walden in Essex, and bred in queen's colledge in Cambridge; where such his proficiency in learning, that he was chosen out by Henry the eighth to be sent over, and to be brought up beyond the seas. It was fashionable in that age that pregnant students were maintained on the cost of the state, to be merchants for experience in forreign parts: whence returning home with their gainful adventurers, they were preferred according to the improvement of their time to offices in their own country. Well it were if this good old custome were resumed: for if were God hath given five talents, men would give but pounds, I mean, encourage hopeful abilities with hopeful maintenance, able persons would never be wanting, and poor men with
great

* Camb. Eliz. anno 1577.

great parts would not be excluded the line of Q. Eliz. preferment. This sir Thomas was first servant and favourite to the duke of Somerset, and afterwards secretary of state to queen Elizabeth, and a grand benefactor to both universities.

Anno 1577, when that excellent act passed, whereby it was provided, *That a third part of the Rent upon Leases made by Colledges, should be reserved in Corn, paying it either in kind or in money, after the rate of the best prices in Oxford or Cambridge-markets, the next Market-days before Michaelmas or our Lady-day*: for the passing of this act sir Thomas Smith surprized the house, and whereas many conceived not the difference between the payment of rents in corn or money, the knowing patriot took the advantage of the present cheap year, knowing that hereafter grain would grow dearer, mankinde dayly multiplying, and license being lately given for transportation; so that now when the Universities have least corn, they have most bread. What his foresight did now for the University, his reach did the first year of queen Elizabeth for the kingdom: for the first sitting of her council he advised twelve most important things for the publick safety.

1. That the ports should be shut.
2. That the tower of London should be secured in good hands.
3. That the deputy of Ireland's commission should be renewed and enlarged.
4. That all officers should act.
5. That no new office should be bestowed in a moneth.

6. That

Q. Eliz. 6. That ministers should meddle with no controversies.

7. That embassadors should be sent to forreign princes.

8. That no coyn should be transported beyond sea.

9. That no person of quality should travel for six weeks.

10. That the train-bands should be mustered.

11. That Ireland, the borders, and the seas, should be provided for.

12. And that the dissenting nobility and clergy should be watched and secured. Adding withal a paper for the reading of the epistle, the gospel, and the commandments in the English tongue, to encourage the protestants expectation, and allay the papists fear. In the same proclamation that he drew up, the sacrament of the altar was to be revered, and yet the communion to be administered in both kinds. He advised a disputation with the papists one day, (knowing that they could not dispute without leave from the pope, and so would disparage their cause; yet they could not say but they might dispute for the queen, and so satisfy the people, and is one of the * five counsellours to whom the designe of the reformation is opened, and one of the † eight to whom the management of it was intrusted. There you might see him a leading man among the states-men, here most eminent among divines; at once the most

* The marquess of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, John Grey of Pyrgo, sir William Cecil, Thomas Smith.

† The doctors Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Whitehead, Pillington, and sir Thomas Smith.

most knowing and pious man of that age. As Q. Eliz. his industry was taken up with the establishment of our affairs at home, so his watchfulness (upon sir Edward Carews deposition of his embassie) was intent upon the plot of France and Rome abroad: in the first of which places he made a secretary his own, and in the second a cup-bearer. At the treaty of Cambray my lord Howard of Effingham, the lord chamberlain, and he, brought the king of Spain to the English side in the business of Calice: 1. That France might be weakened: 2. That his Netherlands might be secured: 3. That the queen his sweet-heart might be obliged, until he discovered queen Elizabeth's averſeness to the marriage: whereupon had it not been for the viscount Mountacute (who was not so much a papist as to forget that he was an English-man) and sir Thomas, the Spaniard had stoln over Catharine Grey, queen Elizabeth's neice, for a pretence to the crown, as the French had the queen of Scots her cozen. After which, he and sir William Cecil advised her majesty to that private treaty apart, without the Spaniard, which was concluded 1559, as much to the *honour* of England, now no longer to truckle under Spain, as its *interest*, no longer in danger from France. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was the metal in these treaties, and sir Thomas Smith the allay: the ones mildness being to mitigate that animosity which the others harshness had begot; and the other's spirit to recover those advantages which this man's easiness had yielded. Yet he shewed himself as much a man in demanding, as sir William Cheyney in gaining Calice; replying

G g smartly

Q. Eliz. smartly upon chancellour Hospital's discourse of ancient right, the *late* * *Treaty*; and upon Montmorency's harangue of fears, *Conscience*. Pitying the neglected state of Ireland, he obtained a colony to be planted under his base son in the east-coast of Ulster, called Ardes, at once to civilize and secure that place. So eminent was this gentleman for his learning, that he was at once steward of the stannaries, dean of Carlisle, and provost of Eaton in king Edward's time, and had a pension (on condition he went not beyond sea, so considerable he was) in queen Mary's.

Well he deserved of the *Commonwealth* of learning by his books: 1. *Of the Commonwealth of England*, 2. *Of the Orthography of the English Tongue*, and of the pronunciation of greek; and 3. an exact commentary of matters, saith Mr. Cambden, worthy to be published.

Observations on the Lives of Doctor Dale, the Lord North, Sir Thomas Randolph.

Lloyd.

I Put these gentlemen together in my observations, because I finde them so in their employments: the one agent, the other Leiger, and the third extraordinary embassador in France; the first was to manage our intelligence in those dark

* At Cambray.

Dr. Dale, Lord North, and Sir Tho. Randolph. 451
dark times, the second to urge our interest in Q. Eliz.
those troublesome days, and the third to
represent our grandeur. No man understood the
French correspondence with the Scots better than
sir Thomas Randolph, who spent his active life
between those kingdoms: none knew better
our concerns in France and Spain than Valentine
Dale, who had now seen six treaties; in the first
three whereof he had been secretary, and in the
last a commissioner: none fitter to represent our
state than my lord North, who had been two
years in Walsingham's house, four in Leiceſter's
service; had seen six courts, twenty battles,
nine treaties, and four solemn juſts; whereof he
was no mean part, as a reserved man, a valiant
ſouldier, and a courtly person. So ſly was Dale,
that he had a ſervant always attending the queen-
mother of France, the queen of Scots, and the
king of Navarre: ſo watchful ſir Thomas Ran-
dolph, that the ſame day he ſent our agent in
Scotland notice of a deſigne to carry over the
young king, and depoſe the regent, he adviſed
our queen of a match between the king of Scot's
uncle and the counteſs of Shrewſbury's daughter;
and gave the earl of Huntington, then preſident
of the north, thoſe ſecret inſtructions touching
that matter, that (as my lord Burleigh would
often acknowledge) ſecured that coaſt. My L.
North watched the ſucceſſes of France, Dr.
Dale their leagues; and both took care that the
prince of Orange did not throw himſelf upon
the protection of France, always a *dangerous*
neighbour, but with that *acceſſion* a dreadful one.
Sir John Horſey in Holland propoſed much, but
did nothing; ſir Thomas Randolph in France

Q. Eliz. performed much, and said nothing: yet both with Dr. Dale's assistance made France and Spain the scales in the balance of Europe, and England the tongue or holder of the balance, while they held the Spaniard in play in the Netherlands, watched the French borders, and kept constant agents with Orange and Don John. Neither was sir Thomas less in Scotland than in France, where he betakes himself first to *resolution* in his *Protestation*, and then to *cunning* in his *Negotiation*; encouraging Morton on the one hand, and amusing Lenox on the other: keeping fair weather with the young king, and yet practising with Marre and Anguse. Nothing plausible indeed, saith Cambden, was he with the wise, though youthful king James; yet very dexterous in Scottish humours, and very prudent in the northern affairs; very well seen in those interests, and as successful in those negotiations; witness the first and advantageous league 1586.

* *Video & rideo*, is God's motto upon affronts; † *Video & Taceo*, was queen Elizabeth's; ‡ *Video nec vident*, was sir Thomas Randolph's. These three men treated with the Spaniard near Ostend for peace, while the Spaniard prepared himself on our coast for war. So much did sir James Crofts his affection for peace exceed his judgment of his instruction, that he would needs steal over to Brussels to make it, with no less commendation for the prudent articles he proposed, than censure for the hazard he incurred in the proposal. So equal and even did old Dale carry himself, that the duke of Parma saw in his answers the English spirit, and therefore,

(saith

* I see and laugh to scorn. † I see and hold my peace.
‡ I see and am not seen.

Dr. Dale, Lord North, and Sir Tho. Randolph. 453
(saith my author) durst not try that valour in Q. Eliz.
a nation, which he was so afraid of in a single
person; that he had no more to say to the old
gentleman, than onely this, *These things are in
the hand of the Almighty.*

None more inward with other men than sir Francis Walsingham, none more inward with him than sir Thomas Randolph: well studied he was in *Justinian's* code, better in *Machiavel's* discourses; both when a learned student of Christ-church, and a worthy principal of Broadgate's: thrice therefore was he an embassadour to the lords of Scotland in a commotion; thrice to queen Mary in times of peace; seven times to James the sixth of Scotland for a good understanding; and thrice to Basilides emperour of Russia for trade: once to Charles the ninth king of France, to discover his designe upon Scotland; and once to Henry the third, to open a conspiracy of his subjects against him: great services these, but meanly rewarded; the serviceable, but moderate and modest man, (though he had as many children at home as he had performed embassies abroad) being contented with the chamberlainship of the exchequer, and the postmaster's place; the first but a name, and the second then but a noise; to which were added some small farms, wherein he enjoyed the peace and innocence of a quiet and retired *Life*; a life, which upon the reflections of a tender conscience, he wished a great while, as appears by his letters to his dear Walsingham, wherein he writes, *How worthy, yea, how necessary a thing it was, that they should at length bid Farewel to the snares, he of a Secretary, and himself of an*
G g 3 *Embas-*

Q. Eliz. *Embassadour*; and should both of them set their
 { mindes upon their Heavenly Country; and by re-
 penting, ask mercy of GOD.

Observations on the Life of Sir Amias Powlet.

Lloyd.

SIR Amias Poulet, born at Hinton, St. George in Summerſetſhire, ſon to ſir Hugh, and grandchilde to ſir * Amias Powlet, was chancel-
 lour of the garter, governour of the iſles of Jer-
 ſey and Guernſey, and privy-councellour to
 queen Elizabeth. He was ſo faithful and truſty,
 that the queen committed the keeping of Mary
 queen of Scots to his cuſtody, which he diſ-
 charged with great fidelity.

As *Cæſar* would have his wife, ſo he his ſpirit,
 above the very ſuſpicion of unworthineſs; equally
 conſulting his *Fame* and his *Conſcience*. When
 he performed his laſt embaffie, with no leſs ſa-
 tisfaction to the king of France, than honour to
 the queen of England, (at once with a *good hu-
 mour* and a *great ſtate*) he would not accept a
 chain (and all gifts are chains) from that
 king by any means, until he was a league from
 Paris: *then* he took it, becauſe he would *oblige*
 that prince; and not till then, becauſe he would
 not be obliged by any but his ſoveraign, ſaying,
I will wear no Chains but my Miſtreſſes. It is
 the

* Who put Cardinal Wolſey, then but a Schoolmaſter,
 in the Stocks.

the interest of princes, that their *Servants Fortune* should be above the temptation; it is their happiness, that their *Spirits* are above the respects of a private concern.

Observations on the Lives of Sir James Crofts, John Grey of Pyrgo, Sir Henry Gates.

EMblems of honour derived from ancestors, Lloyd. are but rotten rags, where ignoble posterity degenerates from their progenitors: but they are both glorious and precious where the children both answer and exceed the virtues of their extraction; as in these three gentlemen, whose ancestors fill both pages of former kings chronicles, as they do the annals of queen Elizabeth: three gentlemen whom it's pity to part in their *Memoires*, since they were always together in their employments. All three were like to die in queen Mary's days for the profession of the protestant religion, all three spending their lives in queen Elizabeth's for the propagation of it: 1. Sir Henry Gates lying in Rome as a spy, under the notion of cardinal Florido's secretary, six years; John Grey drawing up the whole proceedings and methods of the reformation for ten years; and sir James Crofts being either the vigilant and active governour of Berwick, or the prudent and successful commissioner in Scotland for seven years. When the French threatned us by

Q. Eliz. by the way of Scotland, the earl of Northumberland was sent northward for his interest, as warden of the middle march; sir Ralph Sadler for his wisdom, as his assistant and counsellour; and sir James Crofts for his conduct, as both their guide and director-general. An estate in the *Purse*, credits the court; wisdom in the *Head*, adorneth it; but both in the *Hand*, serve it. Nobly did he and Cuthbert Vaughan beat the French that sallied out of Edinburgh into their trenches, but unhappily stood he an idle spectator in his quarter the next scalado, while the English are overthrown, and the duke writes of his infidelity to the queen, who discharged him from his place, though not from her favour; for in stead of the more troublesome place, the government of Berwick, she conferred on him that more honourable, the controllership of her household. Great service did his valour at Haddington in Scotland against the French, greater his prudence in Ulster against the Spaniards. Although his merit made his honour due to him, and his blood *becoming*; though his cares, travels and dangers deserved *pity*; his quiet and meek nature *love*: though he rose by wary degrees, and so was unobserved; and stood not insolently when up, and so was not obnoxious: yet envy reflected as hot upon him as the sun upon the rising ground, which stands firm though it doth not flourish, as this gentleman's resolved honesty did; overcoming court-envy with a solid worth; waxing old at once in years and reverence, and *dying* (as the chronicle wherein he *dieth* not but with time, reports

reports it) in good favour with his prince, and Q. Eliz. found reputation with all men, for three infallible sources of honour: 1. That he aimed at merit more than fame: 2. That he was not a follower, but an example in great actions: and, 3. That he assisted in the three great concerns of government, 1. in laws, 2. in arms, and 3. in councils. In *Æsop* there is a slight fable of a deep moral: it is this: *Two Frogs consulted together in the time of Drowth (when many plasbes that they had repaired to were dry) what was to be done; and the one propounded to go down into a deep well, because it was like the water would not fail there: but the other answered, Yea, but if it do fail, how shall we get up again? Mr. Grey would nod, and say, Humain affairs are so uncertain, that he seemeth the wisest man, not who hath a spirit to go on, but who hath a wariness to come off: and that seems the best course, that hath most passages out of it.* Sir James Crofts on the other hand hated that irresolution that would do nothing, because it may be at liberty to do any thing. *Indeed faith one, Necessity hath many times an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the minde and strengtheneth endeavour.* Sir James Crofts was an equal composition of both; as one that had one fixed eye on his *Action*, and another indifferent one on his *retreat*.

Observations on the Life of William Lord Grey of Wilton.

Lloyd.

THAT great souldier and good christian, in whom religion was not a *softness*, (as Machiavel discoursed) but a *resolution*. Hannibal was *sworn* an enemy to Rome at nine years of age, and my lord *bred* one to France at fourteen. Scipio's first service was the rescue of his father in Italy, and my lord Grey's was the safety of his father in Germany. He had Fabius his slow way, and long reach, with Herennius his fine policies, and neat Ambuscadoes; having his two companions always by him, his map and his guide: the first whereof discovered to him his more obvious advantages, and the second his more close dangers. His great conduct won him much esteem with those that heard of him, and his greater presence more with those that saw him. Observable his civility to strangers, eminent his bounty to his followers; obliging his carriage in the countries he marched through, and expert his skill in wars, whose end he said was victoty, and the end of victory nobleness, made up of pity and munificence. It lost him his estate to redeem himself in France, and his life to bear up his reputation in Berwick. Having lived to all the great purposes of life but self-interest; he died 1563, that fatal year; no less to the publick sorrow of England which he

secu-

secured, than the common joy of Scotland, which he awed. Then it was said, That the same day died the greatest Scholar, and the greatest Souldier of the Nobility; the right honourable Henry Mannors earl of Rutland in his gown, and the honourable lord Grey in his armour; both, as the queen said of them, Worthies that had deserved well of the Commonwealth by their Wisdome, Councel, Integrity and Courage.

Two things my lord always avoided: the first, to give many reasons for one thing; the heaping of arguments arguing a neediness in every of the arguments by its self; as if one did not trust *any* of them, but fled from one to another, helping himself still with the last. The second, to break a negotiation to too many distinct particulars, or to couch it in too compact generals: by the first whereof we give the parties we deal with an opportunity to look down to the bottom of our business; and by the second, to look round to the *compass* of it. Happy are those souls that command themselves so far, that they are equally free to full and half discoveries of themselves, always ready and pliable to the present occasion. Not much regarded was this gallant spirit when alive, but much missed when dead; we understand what we want, better than what we enjoy; and the beauty of worthy things is not in the face, but the back-side, endearing more by their departure than their address.

Observations on the Life of Edmund Plowden.

Lloyd.

EDMUND PLOWDEN was born at Plowden in Shropshire; one who excellently deserved of our municipal law in his learned writings thereon. A plodding and a studious man; and no wonder if knowing and able: beams in reflexion are hottest, and the soul becomes wise by looking into its self. But see the man in his *Epitaph*!

Conditur in hoc Tumulo corpus Edmundi Plowden Armigeri. Claris ortus Parentibus, apud Plowden in Comitatu Salop, natus est; a pueritia in literarum Studio liberaliter est educatus, in Provectiore vero ætate Legibus, & Jurisprudentiæ operam dedit. Senex jam factus, & annum ætatis suæ agens 67, Mundo Valedicens, in Christo Jesu Sancte obdormivit, die Sexto Mensis Februar. Anno Domini 1585.

I have the rather inserted this epitaph inscribed on his monument on the north-side of the east-
end

* Within this Tomb lies the Body of Edmund Plowden, Esq; descended from illustrious Parents. He was born at Plowden in the County of Salop, liberally educated from his Infancy, in his riper Years he applied himself to the Study of the Common and Civil Law. Taking leave of this World, he slept in Christ on the 6th Day of Feb. 1585, aged 67.

end of the quire of Temple-church in London, Q. Eliza
 because it hath escaped (but by what casualty I cannot conjecture) master Stow in his Survey of London. We must adde a few words out of the character Mr. Cambden gives of him :

* *Vitæ integritate inter homines suæ professionis nulli secundum.* As he was singularly well learned in the common laws of England, whereof he deserved well by writing; so for integrity of life he was second to none of his profession. And how excellent a medley is made, when honesty and ability meet in a man of his profession! nor must we forget how he was treasurer for the honourable society of the middle-Temple, *Anno* 1572, when their magnificent hall was builded; he being a great advancer thereof. Finding the coyn embased by Henry the eighth, so many ways prejudicial to this state, as that which first dishonoured us abroad; secondly, gave way to the frauds of coyners at home, who exchanged the best commodities of the land for base moneys, and exported the current moneys into foreign parts; and thirdly, enhanced the prizes of all things vendible, to the great loss of all stipendiaries. He offered, 1. That no man should melt any metal, or export it: 2. That the brass money should be reduced to its just value: 3. That it should be bought for good; by which silent and just methods, that defect of our government for many years was remedied in a few moneths, without any *noise*, or (what is proper to alterations of this nature) *discontent*.

The middle region of the *Air* is coolest, as most distant from the direct beams that warm the high-

* That he was second to none of his profession in Integrity.

Q. Eliz. highest, and the reflexed that heat the lowest :
 ~~~~~ the mean man, that is as much below the favour of the court, as above the business of the country, was in our judges opinion the most happy and composed man ; this being the utmost of a knowing man's wish in England, that he were as much out of the reach of contempt, as to be above a constable ; and as much out of the compass of trouble, as to be below a justice. A mean is the utmost that can be prescribed either of vertue or bliss, as in our actions, so in our state.

Great was the capacity, and good the inclination of this man ; large the furniture, and happy the culture of his soul ; grave his mein, and stately his behaviour ; well-regulated his affections, and allayed his passions ; well-principled his mind, and well-set his spirit ; solid his observation, working and practical his judgment : and as that Roman heroe was more eminent whose image was missing, than all the rest whose portraictures were set up ; so this accomplished gentleman is more observable because he was not a states-man, than some of those that were so. There is a glory in the obscurity of worthy-men, who as that sun (which they equal as well in common influence as lustre) are most looked on when *eclipsed*.

---

*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir Roger Manwood.*

**S** I R Roger Manwood born at Sandwich in Lloyd. Kent, attained to such eminency in the common law, that he was preferred second justice of the common pleas by queen Elizabeth; which place he discharged with so much ability and integrity, that not long after he was made chief baron of the exchequer; which office he most wisely managed, to his great commendation, full fourteen years, to the day of his death.

Much was he employed in matters of State, and was one of the commissioners who sate on the tryal of the queen of Scots. He wrote a book on the forest-laws, which is highly prized by men of his profession. In vacation-time he constantly inhabited at St. Stephen's in Canterbury, and was bounteously liberal to the poor inhabitants thereof: and so charitable was he, that he erected and endowed a fair free school at Sandwich, dying in the 35 of queen Elizabeth, anno Dom. 1593.

Cloaths for necessity, warm cloaths for health, cleanly for decency, lasting for strength, was his maxime and practice, who kept a state in decent plainness; infomuch that queen Elizabeth called him her Good-man Judge. In Davison's case, Mildmay cleared the man of malice, but taxed him

Q. Eliz. him with unskilfulness and rashness: Lumley said he was an ingenious and an honest man, but presumptuous. *I will ever esteem him an honest and good man,* said Grey. The archbishop of Canterbury approved the fact, commended the man, but disallowed of the manner and form of his proceedings. Manwood made a narrative of the queen of Scots proceedings, confirmed the sentence against her, extolled the queen's clemency, pitied Davison and fined him 10000 l.

A man he was of a pale constitution, but a clear, even, and smooth temper; of a pretty solid consistence, equally sanguine and flegmatique: of a quiet soul, and serene affections: of a discreet sweetness, and moderate manners; slow in passion, and quick enough in apprehension; wary in new points, and very fixed and judicious in the old. A plausible, insinuating, and fortunate man; the idea of a wise man; having (what that elegant educator wisheth) *that great habit which is nothing else but a promptness and plentifulness in the store-house of the mind, of clear imaginations well-fixed:* which was promised in his erect and forward stature, his large breast, his round and capacious forehead, his curious and observing eye, (the clear and smart argument of his clearer and quicker soul, which owned a liveliness equally far from volatileness and stupidity) his steady attention and his solid memory, together with what is most considerable, a grand inclination to imitate and excel. What Plutarch saith of Timoleon with reference to Epaminondas, that we may say of this gentleman, *That his life and actions are like Homer's verses, smooth and flowing, equal and happy:* especially in the two  
grand



grand embellishments of our nature, friendship Q. Eliz. and charity. 1. Friendship, that sacred thing whereof he was a passionate lover, and an exact observer, promoting it among all men he conversed with. Surely there is not that content on earth like the union of minds and interests, whereby we enjoy ourselves by reflection in our friend; it being the most dreadful solitude and wildness of nature, to be friendless. But his friendship was a contracted beam to that sun of charity, that blessed all about him. His salary was not more fixed than his charity: he and the poor had one revenue, one quarter-day: Instead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice to seek for them; laying out by trustees for pensioners, either hopeful or indigent, whereof he had a catalogue that made the best comment upon that text, *The liberal man deviseth liberal things*. This is the best conveyance that ever lawyer made, *To have and to hold to him and his heirs for ever*.

---

## *Observations on the Life of Sir Christopher Wray.*

SIR Christopher Wray was born in the spacious parish of Bedal, the main motive which made his daughter Frances, countess of Warwick, scatter her benefactions the thicker in that place. He was bred in the study of our municipal law; and such his proficiency therein, that in the sixteenth of queen Elizabeth, in Michaelmas-

H h

mas-

**Q. Eliz.** mas-term, he was made lord chief justice of the king's bench. He was not like that judge, *who feared neither God nor man, but only one widow, (lest her importunity should weary him ;)* but heartily feared God in his religious conversation. Each man he respected with his due distance off the bench, and no man on it to byass his judgment. He was *pro tempore*, lord privy seal, and sat chief in the court when secretary Davison was sentenced in the star-chamber. Sir Christopher collecting the censures of all the commissioners, concurred to fine him : but with this comfortable conclusion, *That, as it was in the queens power to have him punished, so her highness might be prevailed with for mitigating or remitting of the fine :* and this our judge may be presumed no ill instrument in the procuring thereof.

He bountifully reflected on Magdalene College in Cambridge, which infant foundation had otherwise been starved at nurse for want of maintenance. We know who saith, *The righteous man leaveth an inheritance to his children's children,* and the well-thriving of his third generation may be an evidence of his well-gotten goods. This worthy judge died May the eighth, in the thirty fourth of queen Elizabeth. When judge Mounson and Mr. Dalton urged in Stubs his case, (that writ against queen Elizabeth's marriage with the duke of Angou) That the act of Philip and Mary against *the authors and fowers of seditious writings* was mistimed, and that it died with queen Mary ; my lord chief justice Wray, upon whom the queen relied in that case, shewed there was no mistaking in the noting of the time ; and proved by the words of the act, that the  
act

act was made against those which should violate Q. Eliz. the king by seditious writing; and that the king of England never dieth: yea, that that act was renewed ~~some~~ *prime* Eliz. during the life of her and the hours of her body.

Five particulars I have heard old men say he was choice in: 1. His friend, which was always wife and equal; 2. His wife; 3. His book; 4. His secret; 5. His expression and garb. By four things he would say an estate was kept: 1. By understanding it; 2. By spending not until it comes; 3. By keeping old servants; 4. By a quarterly audit. The properties of infancy, is innocence; of childhood, reverence; of manhood, maturity; and of old age, wisdom: wisdom that in this grave person acted all its brave parts; i. e. was mindful of what is past, observant of things present, and provident for things to come. No better instance whereof need be alledged than his pathetick discourses in the behalf of those two great *stays* of this kingdome, husbandry and merchandize: for he had a clear discerning judgement, and that not onely in points of law, which yet his arguments and decisions in that profession manifest without dispute; but in matters of policy and government, wherein his guess was usuallly as near prophecy as any man's: as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he hath unravelled the studied cheats and intrigues of the closet-men: to which when you adde his happy faculty of communicating himself, by a free and graceful elocution, to charm and command his audience, assisted by the attractive dignity of his presence, you will not admire that he managed

**Q.** Eliz. his justiceship with so much satisfaction to the court, and that he left it with so much applause from the country : for these two peculiarities he had, That none was more tender to the poor, or more civil in private ; and yet none more stern to the rich, I mean justices of peace, officers, &c. or more severe in publick. He delighted indeed to *be loved*, not *reverenced* : yet knew he very well how to assert the dignity of his place and function from the approaches of contempt.

---

### *Observations on the Life of the Earl of Worcester.*

Lloyd.

**T**H E lord of Worcester, (as no mean favourite) was of the ancient and noble blood of the Beauforts, and of the queen's grandfather's line by the mother ; which she could never forget, especially where there was a concurrency of old blood with fidelity, & mixture which ever sortied with the queen's nature. He was first made master of the horse, and then admitted of her council of state. In his youth (part whereof he spent before he came to reside at court) he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horse-man and tilter of the times, which were then the man-like and noble recreations of the court : and when years had abated these exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellour. He was the last liver of all the servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned

downed mistresses; and all of them laid in the places  
 of their rest; and for himself, after a life of very  
 noble and remarkable reputation, he died in a  
 peaceable old age, full of riches and honour. His  
 father's temperance reached to 97 years of age,  
 because he never eat but one meal a-day; and  
 his frugeness attained to 84, because he never  
 eat but of one dish. He came to the queen's  
 favour, because as her father so she loved *a man*;  
 he kept in, because as her father too so she loved  
*an able man*. His man-like recreations commended  
 him to the ladies, his prudent achievements to  
 the lords. He was made master of the horse be-  
 cause active, and privy counsellour because wise;  
 his mistress excused his faith, which was popish;  
 but honoured his faithfulness, which was Roman;  
 it being her usual speech, that my lord of Wor-  
 cester had *reconciled* what she thought *inconsistent*;  
*a stiff papist, to a good subject*. His religion was  
 not pompous, but solid; not the show of his  
 life, but the comfort of his soul. A great mas-  
 ter he was of others' affections, and greater of  
 his own passions: many things displeased, nothing  
 angered my lord of Worcester, whose maxime  
 was, *That he would not be disordered within him-  
 self, onely because things were out of order without  
 him*: he had this maxime whence he had his na-  
 ture, from his prudent father sir Charles Somer-  
 set, the first earl of Worcester of that name;  
 whose temper was so pliable, and nature so peace-  
 able, that being asked (as it is usually reported  
 of him) How he passed so troublesome a reign as  
 king Henry's, so uncertain as king Edward's, so  
 fierce as queen Mary's, and so unexpected as  
 queen Elizabeth's, with so quiet, so fixed, so

**Q. Eliz.** smooth, so resolved and ready a mind and frame? answered, it was because he understood the interest of the kingdom, while others observed its *Humours*. His first publick service was to represent the grandeur of his mistress at the christening of the Dauphine of France; and his last *the like* at the marriage of the king of Scots, whom he honoured with the garter from his mistress, and advised to beware of papists from the council. The frame of this noble man's body, (as it is delineated by sir W. P.) seems suited to the noble use it was designed for, The entertaining of a most pure and active soul; but equally to the advantage of strength and comeliness, befriended with all proportionate dimensions, and a most grave, yet obliging carriage. There was a clear sprightfulness in his complexion, but a sad reservedness in his nature; both making up that blessed composition of a wise and winning man, of as great hardness of body, as nobleness of spirit. Of a quick sight, and an accurate ear; a steady observation, and ready expression: with the torrent wherof he at once pleased king James, and amazed king Henry, being the most natural orator in the world. Among all which endowments, I had almost forgot his memory, that was very faithful to him in things and business, though not punctilious and formalities: great parts he had, the range and compass whereof filled the whole circle of generous learning in that person, as it hath done in the following heroes of that family to this day.



## *Observations on the Life of* *Sir Henry Killigrew.*

**T**RAVELLERS report, That the place Lloyd. wherein the body of Absalom was buried is still extant at Jerusalem, and that it is a solemn custome of pilgrims passing by it to cast a stone on the place: but a well-disposed man can hardly go by the memory of this worthy person without doing grateful homage thereunto, in bestowing upon him one or two of our observations. It's a question sometimes whether diamond gives more lustre to the ring it's set in, or the ring to the diamond: this gentleman received honour from his family, and gave renown to it. Writing is the character of the speech, as that is of the mind. From Tully (whose orations he would repeat to his dying day) he gained an even and apt stile, flowing at one and the self-same height. Tully's Offices, a book which boys read, and men understand, was so esteemed of my lord Burleigh, that to his dying day he always carried it about him, either in his bosome or his pocket, as a compleat piece that, like Aristotle's rhetoric, would make both a scholar and an honest man. Cicero's magnificent orations against Anthony, Catiline and Verres; Caesar's great Commentaries that he wrote with the same spirit that he fought; flowing Livy; grave, judicious and stately Tacitus; eloquent, but faith-

Q. *Eliz. ful. Curtius*; brief and rich *Salust*; prudent and brave *Xenophon*, whose person was *Themistocles* his companion, as his book was *Scipio Africanus* his pattern in all his wars; ancient and sweet *Heredotus*; sententious and observing *Thucydides*; various and useful *Polybius*; Siculus *Halicarnasseus*; *Trogus*; *Orosius*, *Justine*, made up our young man's retinue in all his travels, where (as *Diodorus the Sicilian* writes) he *sat on the stage of humane life*, observing the great circumstances of places, persons, times, manners, occasions, &c. and was made wise by their example who have trod the path of error and danger before him. To which he added that grave, weighty, and sweet *Plutarch*, whose books (said *Gaza*) would furnish the world, were all others lost. Neither was he amazed in the labyrinth of history, but guided by the clue of *Cosmography*, hanging his study with maps, and his mind with exact notices of each place. He made in one view a judgment of the situation, interest, and commodities (for want whereof many statesmen and souldiers have \* failed) of nations; but to understand the nature of places, is but a poor knowledge, unless we know how to improve them by art; therefore under the figures of triangles, squares, circles and magnitudes: with their terms and bounds, he could contrive most tools and instruments, most engines, and judge of fortifications, architecture, ships, wind and water-works, and whatever might make this lower frame of things useful and servicable to mankind.

As *Cyrus* at *Thermopylae*, *Crassus* in *Parthia*: therefore *Alexander* had exact maps always about him to observe passages, streights, rocks, plains, rivers, &c.



kind, which severer studies he relieved with no-  
 ble and free poetry and, once the pleasure and  
 advancement of the soul, made by those higher  
 motions of the mind more active and more  
 large. To which I add her sister musick, where-  
 with he revived his tired spirits, lengthened (as  
 he said) his sickly days, opened his oppressed  
 breast, eased his melancholy thoughts, graced his  
 happy pronunciation, ordered and refined his ir-  
 regular and gross inclination, fixed and quickned  
 his floating and dead notions; and by a secret,  
 sweet and heavenly virtue, raised his spirit, as  
 he confessed, sometimes to a little less than ange-  
 lical exaltation. Curious he was to please his ear,  
 and as exact to please his eye; there being no  
 statues, inscriptions or coyns that the Vertuosi of  
 Italy could shew, the antiquaries of France could  
 boast off, or the great hoarder of varieties the  
 great duke of Tuscany (whose antic coyns are  
 worth 100000 £.) could pretend to, that he  
 had not the view of. No man could draw any  
 piece or work better, none fancy and paint a  
 portraiture more lively; being a Durer for pro-  
 portion, a Goltzius for a bold touch, variety of  
 posture, a curious and true shadow, an Angelo  
 for his happy fancy, and an Holben for oyl  
 works.

Neither was it a bare ornament of discourse,  
 or naked diversion of leisure time; but a most  
 weighty piece of knowledge that he could blazon  
 most noble and ancient coats, and thereby dis-  
 cern the relation, interest, and correspondence  
 of great families, and thereby the meaning and  
 bottom of all transactions, and the most success-  
 ful way of dealing with any one family. His

exer-

**Q.** *Eliz.* exercises were such as his employments were like to be, gentle and man-like, whereof the two most eminent were riding and shooting; that at once wholesomely stirred, and nobly knitted and strengthened his body. Two eyes he said he travelled with; the one of wariness upon himself, the other of observation upon others. This compleat gentleman was guardian to the young Brandon in his younger years, agent for sir John Mason in king Edward the sixth's time, and the first ambassador for the state in queen Elizabeth's time. My lord Cobham is to amuse the Spaniard, my lord Effingham to undermine the French, and sir Henry Killigrew is privately sent to engage the German princes against Austria in point of interest, and for her majesty in point of religion: he had a humour that bewitched the elector of Bavaria, a carriage that awed him of Mentz, a reputation that obliged them of Golen and Hydelberg, and that reach and fluency in discourse that won them all. He assisted the lords Hunsdon and Howard at the treaty with France in London, and my lord of Essex in the war for France in Britain. Neither was he less observable for his own conduct than for that of others; whose severe thoughts, words and carriage so awed his inferiour faculties, as to restrain him through all the heats of youth, made more than usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine constitution: insomuch that they say he looked upon all the approaches to that sin, then so familiar to his calling as a souldier, his quality as a gentleman, and his station as a courtier, not onely with an utter disallowance in his judgement, but with a natural abhorrency  
and

and antipathy in his very lower inclinations. To **Q. Eliz.** which happiness it conduced not a little, that though he had a good, yet he had a restrained appetite (a knife upon his throat as well as upon his trencher) that indulged it self neither frequent nor delicate entertainment; its meals, though but once a day, being its pressures; and its fast; its only sensualities: to which temperance in diet, adde but that in sleep, together with his disposal of himself throughout his life to industry and diligence, you will say he was a spotless man, whose life taught us this lesson, (which if observed, would accomplish mankind; and which king Charles the first would inculcate to noble travellers, and Dr. Hammond to all men) *To be furnished always with something to do*: a lesson they proposed as the best expedience for innocence and pleasure; the foresaid blessed man assuring his happy hearers, *That no barthen is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lie on ones hand: the idle man being not onely (as he worded it) the Devils shop, but his Kingdome too; a model of, and an appendage unto Hell, a place given up to torment and misery.*

*Observations on the Life of*  
**Arthur Gray Baron of Wilton.**

Lloyd.

**A**Rthur Gray baron of Wilton, is justly reckoned amongst the natives of Buckinghamshire, whose father had his habitation (not at Wilton a decayed castle in Hertfordshire, whence he took his title, but) at Waddon, a fair house of his family not far from Buckingham.

He succeeded to a small estate, much diminished on this sad occasion. His father William Lord Gray being taken prisoner in France, after long ineffectual soliciting to be (because captivated in the publick service) redeemed on the publick charge, at last was forced to ransom himself with the sale of the best part of his patrimony. Our Arthur endeavoured to advance his estate by his valour, being entered into feats of war under his martial father at the siege of Leith 1560, where he was shot in the shoulder, which inspired him with a constant antipathy against the Scots. He was afterwards sent over lord deputy into Ireland, anno 1580; where before he had received the sword, or any emblems of command, *ut acrioribus initis terrorem incuteret*, to fright his foes with fierce beginnings, he unfortunately fought the rebels at Grandilough, to the great loss of English blood. This made many

commend his courage above his conduct, till he recovered his credit, and finally suppressed the rebellion of Desmond. Returning into England, the queen chiefly relied on his counsel for ordering our land-forces against the Spaniards in 88, and fortifying places of advantage. The mention of that year (critical in church-differences about discipline at home, as well as with forreign force abroad) mindeth me that this lord was but a back-friend to bishops, and, in all divisions of votes in parliament or council-table, sided with the anti-prelatical party. When secretary Davison, that state-pageant, (raised up on purpose to be put down) was censured in the star-chamber about the business of the queen of Scots, this lord Gray onely defended him, as doing nothing therein but what became an able and honest minister of state. An ear-witness saith, \* *Hæc fuscæ oratorie & animosæ Graium disserentiam audivimus.* So that besides bluntness, (the common and becoming eloquence of soldiers) he had a real rhetorick, and could very emphatically express himself. Indeed this war-like lord would not wear two heads under one helmet, and may be said always to have borne his beaver open, not dissembling in the least degree, but owning his own judgement at all times what he was. He deceased *anno Domini 1598*.

Three things he was observed eminent for: 1. For his dispatch; San Joseph having not been a week in Ireland, before he had environed him by sea and land. 2. For his resolution, that he would not parley with him till he was brought to his mercy, hanging out a white flag with *Misericordia*. 3. For his prudence: 1. That

\* We have heard Gray discussing these Subjects with Copiousness, Elegance and Spirit.

**Q. Eliz.** he saved the commanders to oblige the Spaniard :  
 2. That he plundered the country, to enrich his  
 souldiers : 3. That he decimated the souldiery,  
 to terrifie invaders ; and hanged all the Irish, to  
 amaze the traytors.

Henry Fitz-alan earl of Arundel, when steward at king Edward's coronation, or constable at queen Mary's, was the first that rid in a coach in England ; my lord Gray was the first that brought a coach hither : one of a working brain, and a great *Meobanist* himself, and no less a patron to the ingenious that were so. That there was an emulation between him and Suffex, was no wonder ; but that the instance wherein he thought to disgrace him, should be his severity to the English traytor, and the foreign invaders, would seem strange to any but those that consider,  
 1. That princes of late would seem as they look on the end, and not the means ; so they hug a cruelty, and frown on the instrument of it ; who while he honestly sacrificeth some irregular particulars to the interest of soveraignty, may be made himself a sacrifice to the passion of popularity. And, 2. Which is the case here, that aspiring princes may employ severer natures, but settled ones use the more moderate. *Love* keeps up the *Empire* which *Power* hath set up.

## *Observations on the Life of Thomas Lord Burge.*

**T**homas lord Burge or Borough, was born in Lloyd. his father's noble house at Gainsborough in the county of Lincoln. He was sent embassadour into Scotland in 1593, to excuse Bothwel his lurking in England, to advise the speedy suppression of the Spanish faction, to advance the protestants in that kingdome for their king's defence, and to instruct that king about his council; which was done accordingly.

He was made lord-deputy of Ireland *anno* 1597, in the room of sir William Ruffel. Mr. Cambden saith thus of him:

\* *Vir acer & animi plenus, sed nullis fere  
castrorum rudimentis.*

As soon as the truce with Tyrone was expired, he straightly besieged the fort of Black-water, (the onely receptacle of the rebels in those parts, besides their woods and bogs.) Having taken this fort by force, presently followed a bloody battle, wherein the English lost many worthy men. He was struck with untimely death before he had continued a whole year in his place; it being wittily observed of the short lives of many  
wor-

\* A shrew'd and spirited Man, but without much knowledge in Military affairs.

Q. Eliz. worthy men, \* *Fatuos à morte defendit ipsa insultas, si cui plus cæteris aliquantulum salis insit* Netherfol. (quod miremini) statim putrescit. Things rare  
 Fun. Orat. destroy themselves; those two things being in-  
 Prince compatible in our nature, *Perfection* and *La-*  
 Hen. p. 15, 16, 17. *stingness*.

His education was not to any particular profession, yet able to manage all. *A large soul and a great spirit apart from all advantages, can do wonders.* His master-piece was embassie, where his brave estate set him above respects and compliance, and his comely person above contempt. His geography and history led to the interest of other princes, and his experience to that of his own. His skill in most languages helped him to understand others; and his resolution to use onely his own, to be reserved himself. In two things he was very scrupulous: 1. In his commission, 2. In his servants, whom he always (he said) found honest enough, but seldome quick and reserved. And in two things very careful: viz. 1. The time and humour of his addresses; 2. The interest, inclinations and dependencies of favourites. A grave and steady man, *observing every thing, but affected with nothing; keeping as great distance between his looks and his heart, as between his words and his thoughts.* Very exact for his priviledges, very cold and indifferent in his motions, which were always guided by the emergencies in that country, and by his intelligence from home. Good he was in pursuing his limited instruction, excellent where he was

\* Folly it self defends Fools from death, whereas should there be any sharp and lively humours in a person's disposition, they presently corrupt and bring him to decay.



was *free*; and his business was not his *obedience* Q. *Elizabeth*.  
only, but his *discretion* too: that never failed  
but in his last enterprize, which he undertook  
without any apparent advantage, and attempted  
without intelligence: an enterprize well worthy  
his invincible courage, but not his accustomed  
prudence; which should never expose the per-  
son of a general to the danger of a common  
soldier.

---

## *Observations on the Life of William Lord Pawlet.*

**WILLIAM PAWLET** (where-ever born) Lloyd.  
had his largest estate and highest honour  
(baron of Basing, and marquess of Winchester)  
in Hampshire. He was descended from a younger  
house of the Pawlets in Hinton St. George in  
Somersetshire, as by the crescent in his arms is  
acknowledged. \* One tells us, that he being a  
younger brother, and having wasted all that was  
left him, came to court on trust; where, upon  
the stock of his wit, he trafficked so wisely, and  
prospered so well, that he got, spent, and left,  
more than any subject since the conquest. Indeed  
he lived at the time of the dissolution of ab-  
beys, which was the harvest of estates; and it  
argued idleness if any courtier had his barns  
empty. He was servant to king Henry the se-  
venth; and for thirty years together treasurer to  
king

\* Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*.

Q. Eliz. king Henry the eighth, Edward the sixth, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth: the latter in some sort owed their crowns to his counsel, his policy being the principal defeater of duke Dudley's designe to dis-inherit them. I behold this lord Pawlet like to aged *Adoram*, so often mentioned in scriptures, being over the tribute in the days of king \* *David*, all the reign of king † *Solomon*, until the first ‡ year of *Rehoboam*. And though our lord Pawlet enjoyed his place not so many years, yet did he serve more soveraigns, in more mutable times, being (as he said of himself) *No oak, but an Osier*. Herein the parallel holds not: the hoary hairs of *Adoram* were sent to the grave by a violent § death, slain by the people in a tumult; this lord had the rare happiness of † *εὐδαιμονία*, setting in his full splendour, having lived 97 years, and seen 103 out of his body. He died *anno Domini* 1572. Thus far Mr. Fuller.

This gentleman had two rules as useful for mankind, as they seem opposite to one another.

1. That in our considerations and debates, we should not dwell in deceitful generals, but look into clear particulars.

2. That in our resolutions and conclusions, we should not rest on various particulars, but rise to uniform generals.

A man he was that revered himself; that could be vertuous when alone, and good when onely his own theatre, his own applause, though excel-

\* 2 Sam. 20, 24. † 1 Kings, 4, 6. ‡ 1 Kings, 12.  
§ 1 Ibidem.

‡ A fortunate Death.

excellent, before the world; his vertue improving by fame and glory, as an heat which is doubled by reflexion.

## Observations on the Life of Sir James Dier.

**J**AMES DIER Knight, younger Son to Richard Dier, Esquire, was born at Round-bill in Somersetshire, as may appear to any by the Heralds visitation thereof. He was bred in the study of our municipal law, and was made lord chief justice of the common pleas, primo Eliz. continuing therein twenty four years. When Thomas duke of Norfolk was, anno 1572, arraigned for treason, this judge was present thereat, on the same token, that when the duke desired council to be assigned him, pleading that it was granted to Humphrey Stafford, in the reign of king Henry the seventh, our judge returned unto him, that Stafford had it allowed him only as to point of law, then in dispute, viz. Whether he was legally taken out of the Sanctuary? but as for matter of fact, neither he, nor any ever had or could have council allowed him.

But let his own works praise him in the Gates, (known for the place of publick justice amongst the Jews) let his learned writings, called, The Commentaries or Reports, evidence his abilities in his profession. He died in 25. Eliz. (though married) without any issue; and there is a house of a baronet of his name (descended from an elder son of Richard,

*Q. Eliz. ard, father to our judge) at great Stoughton in  
Huntingtonshire, well improved I believe with the  
addition of the Judge's Estate.*

There is a manuscript of this worthy judge, wherein are fix and forty rules for the preservation of the commonwealth, as worthy our observation as they were his collection.

1. That the true religion be established.
2. To keep the parts of the commonwealth equal.
3. That the middle sort of people exceed both the extreams.
4. That the nobility be called to serve, or at least to appear at the court by themselves, or by the hopes of their families their children.
5. That the court pay well.
6. That trade be free; and manufactures, with all other ingenuities, encouraged.
7. That there be no co-equal powers, nor any other usurpations against the foundation.
8. That their be notice taken of wise and well-affected persons to employ them.
9. That corruption be restrained.
10. That the prince shew himself absolute in his authority first, and then indulgent in his nature.
11. That the first ferment of sedition, *want*, &c. be considered.
12. That preferments be bestowed on merit, and not faction.
13. That troublesome persons be employed abroad.
14. That emulations be over ruled.
15. That the ancient and most easie way of contributions when necessary, be followed.
16. That

16. That the youth be discipled.

17. That discourses and writings of government, and its mysteries be restrained.

18. That the active and busie be taken to employment.

19. That the king shew himself often in majesty, tempered with familiarity, easie access, tendernefs, &c.

20. That the prince perform some expected actions at court himself.

21. That no one man be gratified with the grievance of many.

22. That acts of grace pass in the chief magistrate's name, and acts of severity in the ministers.

23. That the prince borrow when he hath no need.

24. That he be so well furnished with warlike provisions, citadels, ships, as to be renowned for it.

25. That the neighbour-states be balanced.

26. That the prince maintain very knowing agents, spies and intelligencers.

27. That none be suffered to raise a quarrel between the prerogative and the law.

28. That the people be awaked by musters.

29. That in cases of faction, colonies and plantations be found out to receive ill humours.

30. That the seas, the sea-coast, and borders be secured.

31. That the prince be either resident himself, or by a good natured and popular favourite.

32. To act things by degrees, and check all the hasty, importunate, rash and turbulent, though well-affected.

Q. Eliz. 33. That the inhabitants have *honour* promiscuously, but that *power* be kept in the well-affected's hands.

34. That there be as far as can be plain dealing, and the people never think they are deceived.

35. That there be a strict eye kept upon learning, arms, and mechanical arts,

36. That there be frequent wars.

37. To observe the divisions among favourites, though not to encourage them,

38. That an account be given of the publick expences.

39. That inventions be encouraged,

40. That the country be kept in its due dependance on the crown against the times of war, elections, &c. and to that purpose that the courtiers keep good houses, &c.

41. That no disobliging person be trusted.

42. That executions be few, suddain and severe.

43. To improve the benefit of a kingdome's situation.

44. That the liberties and priviledges of the subject be so clearly stated, that there may be no pretences for worse purposes.

45. That the coyn be neither transported nor embased.

46. That luxury be suppressed,

Maximes these ! that spake our judge so conversant with books and men, that that may be applied to him; which is attributed to as great a divine as he was a lawyer, viz. *That he never talked with himself,*

## *Observations on the Life of Sir William Pelham.*

**SIR** William Pelham was a native of Sussex, <sup>Lloyd.</sup> whose ancient and wealthy family hath long flourished in Laughton therein. His prudence in peace, and valour in war, caused queen Elizabeth to employ him in Ireland, where he was by the privy-council appointed lord chief justice to govern that land in the interim betwixt the death of sir William Drury, and the coming in of Arthur Gray, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Say not that he did but stop a gap for a twelve-month at the most, seeing it was such a gap, destruction had entered in thereat, to the final ruine of that kingdome, had not his providence prevented it. For in this juncture of time, Desmond began his rebellion 1579, inviting sir William to side with him; who wisely gave him the hearing, with a smile in to the bargain. And although our knight for want of force could not cure the wounds, yet he may be said to have washed and kept it clean, resigning it in a recovering condition to the lord Gray, who succeeded him. Afterwards he was sent over into the Low Countries 1586, being commander of the English horse therein. It is said of him, *Brabantiam persultabat*, he leapt through Brabant; importing celerity and success, yea, as much conquest as so suddain an expedition was capable of.

Q. Eliz. He had a strong memory whereof he built his experience, and a large experience whereon he grounded his actions: there was no town, fort, passage, hill or dale, either in Ireland or Holland, but he retained by that strong faculty, that was much his nature, more his art; which observed privately, what it saw publickly; recollected and fixed in the night, when he observed by day; trusting his head with solids, but not burthening it with impertinencies. Company is one of the greatest pleasures of mankind, and the great delight of this man (it's unnatural to be solitary; the world is linked together by love, and men by friendship) who observed three things in his converse, that it should be, 1. even, 2. choice, and 3. useful; all his friends being either valiant, ingenious, or wise: that is, either souldiers, scholars, or states-men. Four things he was very intent upon during his government in Ireland: 1. The priests, the pulpits, and the pews: 2. The nobility: 3. The ports: 4. The forreigners. Which he pursued with that activity, the earl of Ormond assisting him, that *anno* 1580, that kingdome was delivered to my lord Gray after his one year's government, in a better condition than it had been for threescore years before; the populacy being encouraged, the nobility trusted, feuds laid down, revenue settled, the sea-towns secured, the souldiery disciplined, and the magazines furnished. Whence he returned to overlook others, settling England against the Spaniards, as he had done Ireland; himself being an active commissioner in England in 88, and an eminent agent in Scotland in 89.



---

*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir William Waad.*

**A** Scholar himself, and a patron to such that Lloyd. were so; being never well but when employing the industrious, pensioning the hopeful, and preferring the deserving. To his directions we owe Rider's dictionary, to his encouragement Hooker's policy, to his charge Gruter's inscriptions. As none more knowing, so none more civil. No man more grave in his life and manners, no man more pleasant in his carriage and complexion; yet no man more resolved in his business: for being sent by queen Elizabeth to Philip king of Spain, he would not be turned over to the Spanish privy-council, (whose greatest grandees are dwarfs in honour to his mistress) but would either have audience of the king himself, or return without it; though none knew better how and when to make his close and underhand addresses to such potent favourites as strike the stroke in the state; it often happening in a commonwealth, (saith my author) that the master's mate steers the ship better than the master himself. A man of a constant toyl and industry, busie and quick, equally an enemy to the idle and slow undertakings, judging it a great weakness to stand staring in the face of business, in that time which might serve to do it. In his own practice he never considered longer than

Q. Eliz. than till he could discern whether the thing proposed was fit or not; when that was seen, he immediately set to work: when he had finished one business, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to undertake.

Two things this gentleman professed kept him up to that eminence; 1. Fame, that great incitement to excellency. 2. A friend, whom he had not onely to observe those grossnesses which enemies might take notice of, but to discover his prudential failings, indecencies, and even suspicious and barely doubtful passages. *Friendship* (saith my lord Bacon) *easeth the heart, and clear-eth the understanding, making clear day in both; partly by giving the purest counsel apart from our interest and prepossessions, and partly by allowing opportunity to discourse; and by that discourse to clear the mind, to recollect the thoughts, to see how they look in words; whereby men attain that highest wisdom, which Dionysius the Areopagite saith, is the Daughter of Reflexion.*

## *Observations on the Life of* *Sir Henry Sidney.*

Lloyd.

SIR Henry Sidney, eminent for his son sir Philip, and famous for his own actions, was born well, and bred better: his learning was equal to his carriage, his carriage to his good nature, his good nature to his prudence, his  
pru-

prudence to his resolution. A little he learned at school, more at the University, most at court. His reading was assiduous, his converse exact, his observations close: his reason was strong, and his discourse flowing. Much he owed to his studiousness at home, more to his experience abroad, where travel enlarged and consolidated his soul. His own worth fitted him for advancement, and his alliance to my lord of Leicester raised him to it. Merit must capacitate a man for interest, and interest must set up merit. His person and his ancestry invested him knight of the garter, his moderation and wisdom president of Wales. His resolution and model of government made him lord deputy of Ireland; a people whom he first studied, and then ruled; being first master of their humour, and then of their government. Four things he said would reduce that country: a navy well furnished to cut off their correspondence with Spain; an army well paid, to keep up garrisons; laws well executed, to alter their constitutions and tenures; a ministry well settled, to civilize and instruct them; and an unwearied industry to go through all.

Nine things he did there to eternize his memory.

1. Connaught he divided to six shires.
2. Captainships, something answering to knight-hood here, *He* abolished.
3. A surrendry of all Irish holdings *He* contrived, and the Irish estates *He* settled on English tenures and services.
4. That the ablest five of each sept should undertake for all their relations *He* ordered.

5. One

Q. Eliz. 5. One free-school at least in every diocess *He* maintained.

6. Two presidents courts in Munster and Connaught *He* erected.


7. Their customes *He* reduced to the *Civility*, and their exchequer to the *Exactness* of England.

8. Their purveyance *He* turned to composition.

9. Their statutes *He* printed, and a constant correspondence *He* kept; especially with the English embassadour in Spain, and king James in Scotland.

Fitz-williams was mild, Essex heady, Perrot stout; but this lieutenant or deputy was a stayed and resolved man, that royally *heard ill*, and *did well*; that bore up against the clamours of the people with the peace of his conscience. His interest he had devoted to his sovereign, and his estate to the publick; saying as *Cato*, *That he had the least share of himself*. \* From the Irish he took nothing but a liberty to undo themselves; from court he desired nothing but service; from Wales he had nothing but a good name. It's observed of him, that *He had open Vertues for Honour, and private ones for Success*, which he said was the daughter of reservedness: *there being not* (saith my lord Verulam) *two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest man*. The crown was obliged by his services, the nobility engaged to him by alliances, the people enamoured with his *Integrity*, and himself satisfied with a *good Conscience*. Much good counsel he gave at court,  
more

\* See Davies of Ireland, and Ware; and Powel of Wales.

more at home in Shropshire, where his dexterity Q. Eliz.  
in composing the private quarrels of the country,   
was as eminent as his prudence in settling the af-  
fairs of Ireland. He had that majesty in his  
countenance that he awed, and affability in his  
speech that he obliged the country. His coun-  
sel would be smart and solid, his reproof grave  
and affectionate, his jests quick and taking; do-  
ing more with a quick droll towards the peace of  
the country, than others did with longer ha-  
rangues. Secretary Bourn's son kept a gentle-  
man's wife in Shropshire; when he was weary of  
her, he caused her husband to be dealt with to  
take her home, and offered him 500 l. for repa-  
ration. The gentleman went to sir Henry Sid-  
ney to take his advice, telling him, *That his*  
*Wife promised now a new life, and to say the truth*  
*five hundred pounds would be very seasonable at that*  
*time. By my troth* (said sir Henry) *take her home,*  
*and the money; then whereas other Cuckolds wear*  
*their Horns plain, you may wear your's gilt.* His  
great word after a difference ended, was, *Is not*  
*this easier than going to London or Ludlow?* when  
a man fretted against himself or other, *My friend,*  
he would say, *take it from me, a weak man com-*  
*plains of others, an unfortunate man of himself,*  
*but a wise man neither of others nor of himself.*  
It was his motto, *I'll never threaten.* To threa-  
ten an enemy, is to instruct him; a superiour,  
is to endanger my person; an inferiour, is to  
disparage my conduct. Old servants were the  
ornament and stay of his family, for whom he  
reserved a copyhold when aged, a service when  
hopeful, an education when pregnant. Twice  
was he sent underhand to France, and once to  
Scot-

**Q. Eliz.** Scotland, to feel the pulse of the one, and to embroyl the other. It's for settled kingdomes and for wealthy men to play above-board, while the young state as the young fortune should be least in fight.

He and sir Thomas Randolph amuse the queen of Scots with the hope of the crown of England, and the king of France by a league with his protestant subjects; to whose assistance sir Adrian Poynings arrives as field-marshal, and the earl of Warwick as general.

Sir Nicholas Arnold had disposed Ireland to a settlement, when justicer; and sir Henry Sidney formerly justicer and treasurer, was now to compleat it as deputy, being assisted in Munster by sir Warham St. Leiger, and elsewhere by the brave earl of Ormond, having procured his antagonist the earl of Desmond to be called to England in order of a peace and tranquility. Great was his authority *over*, far greater his love *to*, and esteem *of* the soldiers, with whom he did wonders against Shane Oneal's front, while Randolph charged his rear until the wild rebel submits, and is executed. When he resigned his authority and honour to sir William Drury, he took his farewell of Ireland in these words, *When Israel departed out of Egypt, and the house of Jacob from a barbarous people.* A singular man he was, (saith the historian) and one of the most commendable deputies of Ireland, to whose wisdom and fortitude that kingdome cannot but acknowledge much, though it is as impatient of deputies as Sicily was of old of procurators.

---

*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir John Puckering.*

**H**E was born at Flamboroughead in York-Lloyd. shire, second son to a gentleman that left him an estate neither plenteous nor penurious, his breeding was more beneficial to him than his portion, gaining thereby such skill in the common law, that he became the queen's serjeant, speaker in the house of commons, and at last lord chancellor of England. How he stood in his judgment in the point of church discipline, plainly appeareth by his following speech, delivered in the house of lords 1588.

You are especially commanded by her majesty to take heed, that no ear be given, nor time afforded to the wearisome sollicitations of those that commonly be called Puritans, where with all the late parliaments have been exceedingly importuned, which sort of men whilst that (in the giddiness of their spirits) they labour and strive to advance a new eldership, they do nothing else but disturb the good repose of the church and commonwealth, which is as well grounded for the body of religion itself, and as well guided for the discipline, as any realm that confesseth the truth. And the same thing is already made good to the world by many of the writings of godly and learned men, neither answered nor answerable by any of these new fangled refiners.

And,

**Q. Eliz.** And, as the present case standeth, it may be doubted, whether they, or the Jesuits, do offer more danger, or be more speedily to be repressed. For, albeit the Jesuites do empoysen the hearts of her majesty's subjects, under a pretext of conscience to withdraw them from their obedience due to her majesty yet do they the same, but closely, and in privy-corners: but these men do both teach and publish in their printed books, and teach in all their conventicles, sundry opinions, not onely dangerous to a well-settled estate, and the policy of the realm, by putting a pike between the clergy and the layty; but also much derogatory to her sacred majesty and her crown, as well by the diminution of her ancient and lawful revenues, and by denying her highness prerogative and supremacy, as by offering peril to her majesties safety in her own kingdome. In all which things, (however in other points they pretend to be at war with the Popish Jesuites) yet by this separation of themselves from the unity of their fellow subjects, and by abasing the sacred authority and majesty of their prince, they do both joyn and concur with the Jesuits in opening the door, and preparing the way to the Spanish Invasion that is threatened against the realm.

And thus having according to the weaknes of my best understanding delivered her majesties royal pleasure and wise direction, I rest there, with humble suit of her majesties most gracious pardon in supplying of my defects, and recommend you to the author of all good counsel.

He



He died anno domini 1596, charactered by Q. Eliz.  
 mr. Cambden, \**Vir Integer*. His estate is since  
 descended, (according to the solemn settlement  
 thereof) the male issue failing, on sir Henry New-  
 ton; who according to the condition hath assumed  
 the surname of Puckering.

Sir Thomas Egerton urged against the earl of  
 Arundel methodically what he had done *before*,  
*in*, and *since*, the Spanish invasion: Sir John  
 Puckering pressed things closely, both from let-  
 ters and correspondence with Allen and Parsons,  
 that few men had seen; and from the saying of  
 my lord himself, (which fewer had observed) who  
 when Valongers cause about a libel was handled  
 in the star-chamber, had said openly, *He that is*  
*thoroughly popish, the same man cannot but be a*  
*Traytor*. A man this was of himself of good re-  
 pute for his own carriage, but unhappy for that  
 of his servants; who for disposing of his livings  
 corruptly, left themselves an ill name in the  
 church, and him but a dubious one in the state.  
 David is not the onely person whom the iniquity  
 of his *beels*, that is, of his *followers*, layeth  
 hold on.

---

## *Observations on the Life of Sir Thomas Bromley.*


**S** I R Thomas Bromley was born at Bromley <sup>Lloyd.</sup>  
 in Shropshire. of a right ancient family. He  
 was bred in the Inner Temple, and made, before  
 K k he

\* An accomplished man.

**Q.** Eliz. he was forty years of age, general solicitor to queen Elizabeth; and afterwards, before he was fifty succeeded sir Nicholas Bacon in the dignity of lord chancellor: yet Bacon was not missed while Bromley succeeded him; and that loss which otherwise could not have been repaired, now could not be perceived; which office he wisely and learnedly executed with much discretion, possessing it nine years, and died anno 1587, not being sixty years old.

My lord Hunsdon first employed this gentleman, and my lord Burleigh took first notice of him. He had a deep head to dive to the bottom of the abstruse cases of those times, and a happy mean to manage them, with no less security to the estate than satisfaction to the people. A man very industrious in his place, and very observant of the court: happy in his potent friends; happy in his able followers; men of great faithfulness towards him, and of great integrity and respectfulness towards any that made addresses to him. He never decided the equity of any case before he had discoursed with the judge that heard it, of the law of it. He never disposed of a living without the bishop of the diocese his consent where it lay: nor ever engaged he in any state-business without direction from my lord Burleigh, the earl of Leicester, my lord Delaware. Sir Ralph Sadler was to observe the policy, Dr. Wilson the civil law, and Sir Thomas Bromley the English law, in the queen of Scots answer to queen Elizabeth's last expostulation. The Spanish souldier never takes wages against his king, and sir Thomas Bromley never took fees against the crown. He would have the cause opened.

opened clearly by his client in the chamber, before Q. Eliz.  
 ever he would declare it at the bar: he lost money for not admitting all causes promiscuously at first, but he gained it at last; when never failing in any cause, saith my author, for five years: during which space, what he wanted in the retayl of advantage, he made up in the gross of esteem; being by that time the onely person that the people would employ, and one of the three the court would favour; being excellent (because industrious) in a leading and an untrodden case. Physicians, they say, are best like beer when stale, and lawyers like bread when young: this person was eminent in all the periods of his age; each whereof he filled with it's just and becoming accomplishment. In that lord Northumberland's case that pistolled himself, none more subtle to argue his guilt; in the queen of Scots, none more strict to keep to the law; for when the queen of Scots would explain something in the queen's commission, he answered, *We are subjects, and not come hither to explain the queens words, but to perform them.* None more discreet and grave, prefacing that great business with these words; *The high and mighty queen our sovereign, that she might not be wanting to her God, herself, her people, or your honour, sent us hither, not so much to try, as to clear you; not so much to urge her accusations, as to hear your defence.* And none more stedfast to his soveraign: for when that unfortunate lady protested her unaccountableness to the English laws, he replied, *This protestation is vain: for whosoever, of what place soever, offendeth against the laws of England in England, was subject to the same laws, and might be examined and*

Q. Eliz. *tryed.* The sentence against her he declared had  three things in it : 1. Justice, 2. Security, 3. Necessity : but added presently, *And that wisely too, it should no ways prejudice king James his title or honour.*

---

## *Observations on the Life of Sir Richard Bingham.*

Lloyd.

**S**IR Richard Bingham, born in Bingham's-Melcoln in Dorsetshire, of a very ancient family, in his youth travelled most parts of the world : he was at the siege of St. Quintin in France ; the sacking of Leith in Scotland ; served in Candia under the Venetians against the Turk ; then returned into the Netherlands, being strong and fortunate in all his undertakings. After all this he went into Ireland, and was there president of Connaught, and conquered the great and dangerous rebel O'Rork.

A gentleman this, rather skilful in many mysteries than thriving in any : of a fancy too high and wild, too desultory and over-voluble : yet imagination hath often produced realities, and phancy done the work of judgment ; as in this gentleman, whose daringness went for conduct, whose spirit passed for resolution, whose activity had the honour of skill, and whose success the glory of prudence. It's a wonder of parts that Cæsar could write, read, dictate, and discourse at the same time ; it's a miracle of fancy that this  
man

man should command a regiment in the Netherlands, preside in a province of Ireland, manage a trade in Russia, carry on a plantation in America, and husband a mannor in England. But as the king of Spain is painted with a handful of sand running out between his fingers, in reference to his many but unprofitable dominions; so might this grand projector be described, who attempted so many things, that he did nothing. Yet one thing his *quick-silver* soul was good for, and that is stratagems: now you should have him surprize a town by butter-women, another time by work-men; anon he would face the enemy, and draw them with success upon a train of gun-powder he would lay for them, and iron prick-steds he would sow for them: he would steal their hands and seales, buy the very keys of their closets; and so amuse them with letters, and distract them with jealousies, while in the mean time the vigilant man alarmed them every hour of the day, and each watch of the night; so that he tamed those wild Irish as we do some wild beasts, by watching.

---

*Observations on the Life of*  
Roger Ascham.

FROM his cradle a royal servant, and to Lloyd. his grave a favourite: a good man, (saith Camden) and if his ambition had been but as great as the occasion was fair, a great one too.

Q. Eliz. Born he was honestly in Yorkshire, and bred handsomely at Cambridge; and both born and bred for that age which was to refine Greek and Latine to a *politenejs*, and raise them to an *eloquence*. He was the university-orator at Cambridge, and at court; there using his eloquence, here his interest against that sacrilege, that having *dined* on the church, as he writ, came to *sup* on the universities. Thence he was rather removed than advanced, more suitably to his merit than his expectation, to be queen Elizabeth's schoolmaster for the latin tongue in her sister's time, and her secretary for the same in her own.

What he got by his ingenuity, he lost by his gaming, viz. at dice and cock-fighting, dying rich only in those two books, his estate and his monument, whereof the one is intituled Toxophilus, and the other Scholarcha. He and his dear Smith were the happiest men in the nation; their large and ingenuous souls clasping together in an entire friendship, made up of kindness and integrity, apart from the little fears, the jealousies, the suspicions that vex mankind. What learned letters! what loving expostulations! what discreet intimations! what faithful advertisements! what indifferent community! what common cares and pities! how they loved! how they chid! and how they loved again! how plain! how malleable! how sweet! What little observations upon one another's inadvertencies, neglects or mis-carriages! how they improved their \* *Mollia tempora* to the great end of friendship, information and advice! How secretly they vented their thoughts into each others breasts, and there looked upon them by

\* Leisure Hours.

by reflection, and the advantage of a second con-  
sideration ! And it's a happiness to have another  
self to shew ourselves to before we appear to the  
world, that all men wish, and the good men only  
enjoy. An honest man this, that abhorred all  
artifice and cunning, and hated all concealments  
and pretensions, which he had sagacity enough  
to discover and look through, but a spirit too ge-  
nerous to practise it ; none being more able for,  
yet none more averse to that circumlocution and  
contrivance wherewith some men shadow their  
main drift and purpose. Speech was made to open  
man to man, and not to hide him ; to promote  
commerce, and not betray it.

**H**OW happy is he born and taught  
That serveth not another's will,  
Whose armour is his honest thought,  
And simple truth his utmost skill ?

Whose passions not his masters are,  
Whose soul is still prepar'd for death ;  
Untide unto the world by care  
Of publick fame, or private breath.

Who envies none that chance doth raise,  
Nor vice hath ever understood ;  
How deepest wounds are given by praise,  
Nor rules of state, but rules of good.

Who bath his life from rumours freed,  
Whose conscience is his strong retreat :  
Whose state can neither flatterers feed,  
Nor ruine make oppressors great.

Who

*Q. Eliz. Who God doth late and early pray,  
 More of his grace, than gifts to lend;  
 And entertains the harmless day  
 With a religious book or friend.*

*This man is freed from servile bands  
 Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;  
 Lord of himself, though not of lands;  
 And having nothing, yet hath all.*

---

## *Observations on the Life of Sir John Packington.*

*Lloyd. SIR John Packington was a person of no mean family, and of form and feature no way despicable: for he was a brave gentleman, and a very fine courtier; and for the time which he stayed there, was very high in the queen's grace: but he came in, and went out, and through disaffiduity lost the advantage of her favour; and death drawing a vail over him, utterly deprived him of recovery. Had he brought less to the court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought: for he had a time for it, but he was an ill husband of opportunity. His handsome features took the most, and his neat parts the wisest at court. He could smile ladies to his service, and argue states-men to his design with equal ease. His reason was *powerful*, his beauty *more*. Never was a brave soul more bravely seated: Nature bestowed great parts on him, education*



cation polished him to an admireable frame of Q. Eliza-  
 prudence and vertue. Queen Elizabeth called him *Her Temperance*, and Leicester *His Modesty*.  
 It is a question to this day, whether his resolution  
 took the souldiers, his prudence the politicians,  
 his compliance the favourites, his complaisance  
 the courtiers, his piety the clergy, his integrity  
 and condescension the people, or his knowledge  
 the learned, *most*? This new court-star was a nine  
 days wonder, engaging all eyes until it set satisfied  
 with its own glory. He came to court, he said, as  
 Solomon did, to see its vanity; and retired as he  
 did, to repent it. It was he who said first what  
 Bishop Saunderson urged afterwards, *That a sound  
 faith was the best divinity, a good conscience the best  
 law, and temperance the best physick*. Sir John  
 Packington in queen Elizabeth's time was vertuous  
 and modest, and sir John Packington in king  
 Charles's his time loyal and valiant; the one did  
 well, the other suffered so: Greenham was his  
 favourite, Hammon his; the one had a compe-  
 tent estate, and was contented; the other hath a  
 large one, and is noble: this suppresseth factions  
 in the kingdome, the other composed them in the  
 court, and was called by courtiers *Moderation*.  
 Westmorland tempted his fidelity, and Norfolk  
 his steadfastness: but he died in his bed an honest  
 and an happy man, while one of them goes off  
 tainted on the scaffold, and the other dies a beg-  
 ger in Flanders.

Q. Eliz.  


## *Observations on the Lives of the Norrises and Knowles.*

Lloyd. **M**Y Lord Norris had by his lady an ample issue, which the queen highly respected: for he had six sons, all martial bravemen; of haughty courage, and of great experience in the conduct of military affairs. Greater was not the faction between Liecester and Suffex at court, than that between the Knowles and the Norrises in the country: both families of Oxfordshire; the one resolute at Greys, the other valiant at Rycote: the former got great estates at home, the latter attained to great honour abroad. The Knowles were beloved by the queen for their own sakes, the Norrises for theirs and her own sake, the Knowles were of the same blood with her majesty, the Norrises spent theirs for her.

1. My lord Norris died at court an honest man.

2. Sir Francis at Bulloign a good souldier.

3. Sir William at Berwick a brave Governour.

4. Sir Thomas at Munster a wise president.

5. Sir Maximilian at Bre-taign an expert engineer.

6. Maximilian at Groen a renowned heroe.

As the first eminent Norris suffered for Anne Bullen, the Qu. mother: so the first eminent Knowles suffered with protestantism her religion. Norris could not rise, though he deserved

7. Sir John was a most accomplished general, no less eminent for his safe retreats, than for his resolute onsets. France hath recorded this testimony of him, That he brought on all his men so warily, as one that could bring them off: and England this, That he brought them off so resolutely, as one that durst bring them on. His fortune often overthrew his enemy, and his wisdom oftner saved his friends: His conduct was famous, and his discipline *exact*: His actions are presidents, and his orders laws of war to this day. He was bred under Castilion, and out-did him. Ireland was always *possessed*, but never conquered till Norris came, who could lie on the coldest earth, swim the deepest rivers, force the straightest passes, find out the most secret corners, and tread the softest bog; who could endure any thing but an affront, and a superiour: the first whereof upon a repulse at court, saddened his heart, as the second, upon another deputies being sent over him, broke it. Unsuccessful he was with Don Antonio in Spain, because he understood not the

ved his honour, Q. Eliz. because of Leicester that favoured his brother Knowles, and Essex that envied him; neither could Knowles advance because of Suffex that feared and Cecil that suspected him. The Knowles were deserving, but modest; favoured, but humble; powerful, but quiet; rather firm at court, than high; allied to the queen and faithful to the crown. Queen Elizabeth advanced sir Francis to the vicechamberlainship, treasurer-ship of the household, captainship of the guard, and the order of the garter, because she said, *he was an honest man*; and king James, and king Charles raised

**Q.** Eliz. country. In the Low-countrie she gained experience first, and then victory: in Ireland he had Connaught for his grave, Mount-Norris his monument, and the letter of queen Elizabeth to his mother his epitaph.

*Norris'es.*

1. The Norris'es are employed in embassies of war, wherein they were active.

2. My Lord Norris his resolution was very becoming in the demand of Calice.

3. The Irish conspirator Thomond opened a plot against the government in Ireland to the agent Norris.

raised his son sir William to the earldome of Banbury, because he was a serviceable man. Honestly faithful was that family to their mistress that was, and providently so were they to their master that should be. Handsome men they were when attending at court, and valiant when called to the camp.

*Nor-*

*Knowles.*

1. The Knowles are abroad in religious negotiations, for which they had been confessors, sir Francis in France, and sir Henry in Germany.

2. Francis Knowles his meekness was suitable to his persuasions for religion :

3. And the Scotch schismatic Humes discovered a designe against the church in England to the embassadour Knowles.

In 88,

My

My lord Hunsdon guarded the queen's person with 34000 foot, and 2000 horse; the earl of Leicester commanding the midland army of 22000 foot, and 1000 horse: sir Roger Williams and sir Richard Bingham were in the head of 20000 in the Thames mouth, and sir John Norris and sir Francis Knowles, with other assistants, sat in the council of war to overlook all. Sir John advised three things: 1. The guarding of the havens. 2. The training of the militia, and preparing of them to be at an hour's warning upon a signal given, which was then the firing of a beacon. 3. That if the enemy did land, the country should be laid waste before him, the train-bands alarming him day and night: sir Francis added, 1, What shires and what numbers should assist each coast, how the men should be armed, how commanded, and in what order they should fight. 2. That the papists should not be massacred, as some would have it, but secured. 3. That the deputy of Ireland should be instructed. 4. That the king of Scots should be engaged. 5. That agents should be sent to the Netherlands and to France. And, 6. That the queen should encourage the people with her own presence. Sir John Norris died when he saw beyond others expectation and his own merit, the lord Burge made lord-deputy, and himself but president of Munster; his great minde sinking under one affront from his sovereign, which had born up against all the assaults of her enemies; leaving this honour behinde him,

*Q. Eliz.* that he laid the best grounds of military practice  
 { in England. But *who can stand before Envy.*

A further Character of Sir John Norris,  
 from Queen Elizabeth's Letter to his  
 Mother.

My own Crow.

**H**ARM not your self for boothless help,  
 but shew a good example to comfort  
 your dolorous yoak-fellow. Although we have  
 deferred long to represent to you our grieved  
 thoughts, because we liked full ill to yield to  
 you the first reflexion of mis-fortune, whom we  
 have always rather sought to cherish and com-  
 fort; yet knowing now, that necessity must bring  
 it to your ear, and nature consequently must move  
 both grief and passion in your heart; we resolved  
 no longer to smother, neither our care for your  
 sorrow, or the sympathy of our grief for your  
 loss. Wherein if it be true, that society in sor-  
 row works diminution, we do assure you by this  
 true messenger of our minde, that nature can  
 have stirred no more dolorous affection in you as  
 a mother for a dear son, than gratefulness and  
 memory of his service past hath wrought in us  
 his soveraign apprehension of our miss for so  
 worthy a servant. But now that nature's com-  
 mon work is done, and he that was born to die  
 hath paid his tribute, let that christian discretion  
 stay the flux of your immoderate grieving, which  
 hath instructed you both for example and know-  
 ledge,

ledge, that nothing in this kinde hath happened Q. Eliz. but by God's divine providence. And let these lines from your loving gracious soveraign serve to assure you, that there shall ever appear the lively character of our estimation of him that was, in our gracious care of you and yours that are left, in valuing rightly all their faithful and honest endeavours. More at this time we will not write of this unpleasant subject, but have dispatched this gentleman to visit both your lord and you, and to condole with you in the true sense of your love; and to pray that the world may see what time cureth in a weak minde, that discretion and moderation helpeth in you in this accident, where there is so just cause to demonstrate true patience and moderation.

Your gracious and loving  
Soveraign,  
E. R.

---

## *Observations on the Life of Secretary Davidson.*

THAT meteor of the court! raised onely in Lloyd. an excess of heat and vapours, to fall in a clearer day: for having good parts to act, an easie nature to comply, and a good disposition to be imposed on, he was raised to play others parts rather then his own, in those intricate and dark times, when fools were put to execute what wise men advised; and the world saw but the plain  
side

Q. Eliz. side of the great watch of state, within which all:  
 the springs were inclosed and hid.

That he was but of a private capacity, and so safely to be raised, as one that would neither outshine nor outdare his patron, (*Machiavil hath a rule, (Disc. l. 3. c. 2.)* That it is a very great part of wisdom sometimes to seem a fool, and so lie out of the reach of *Observation* and *Jealousie*.) appears from his negotiations, that were either payment of money in the Netherlands, a merchant's business; or taking security of the merchants in France, a scrivener's part; or pacifying the tumult in Holland, the task of a burgomaster. Beale the clerk of the council and he were joyned in commission, always to deal with the Scots; the one the austereſt, and the other the sweeteſt man living. When the first frightened those rude people with exhortations, the second got into them with insinuations. A hard and a soft, a hammer and a cushion, breaks a flint: fear and love rule the world. This grand case, as that great historian layeth it, is briefly this; many protestants thought themselves in danger while the queen of Scots was alive; many papists thought themselves undone while she was imprisoned; these last press her to some dangerous undertakings; of the first, some were for securing, others for transporting, and a third party for poisoning her: to which purpose many overtures were made, though yet none durst undertake it that had either estate or honour to lose; being so wise as not to understand what was meant by the strange letters that were sent, else they might have fallen into this gentleman's fortune; who unadvisedly venturing between the honour  
 and



and safety of his sovereign, was ground to no-*Q. Eliz.*  
thing betwixt the fear of one party, and the  
shame of the other.

But this mild, but stout because honest man,  
was not so weak in the perpetration of this fault,  
as he was wise in his apology for it, saying, he  
would not confess a guilt, and betray his inte-  
grity; nor yet stand upon a justification, and  
forget his duty. He would neither contest with  
his sovereign, nor disparage himself; but clear  
himself as an honest man, and submit as a thank-  
ful servant, and a good subject.

*DAZZLED thus with height of place,  
Whilst our hopes our wits beguile,  
No man marks the narrow space  
Twixt a prison and a smile.*

*Then, since fortunes favours fade,  
You, that in her arms do sleep,  
Learn to swim, and not to wade;  
For, the hearts of Kings are deep.*

*But, if greatness be so blind  
As to trust in towers of air,  
Let it be with goodness lin'd,  
That at least the fall be fair.*

*Then, though darkened, you shall say,  
When friends fail, and princes frown,  
Vertue is the roughest way,  
But proves at night a bed of down.*

*Observations on the Lives of Sir  
Humphry Gilbert, and Sir Jef-  
fery Fenton.*

Lloyd. **S**Harp and lively-spirited men, skilful in war, and prudent in peace: of a restless and a publick spirit, well skilled in the trade of England, better in the wealth of America; in the north-part whereof, which we call New-found Land, whither they had sayled a little before with five ships, having sold their patrimony in hope to plant a Colony there, they undid themselves: for after they had by the voice of a common cryer proclaimed that country to belong to the English jurisdiction, and had assigned land to each of their company, they were distressed by shipwracks, and want of necessary provision, and constrained to give over their enterprize; learning too late, and teaching others, that it is matter of greater difficulty to transport colonies into far countries upon private mens wealth, than they and others in a credulous and sanguine fit imagine: and this, *Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis.* You should wish to be what you are and nothing more.

*Observations on the Life of*  
*Doctor Walter Haddon.*

**W**ALTER HADDON, was born of a Lloyd, knightly family in Buckinghamshire, bred at Eaton, afterwards fellow in king's college in Cambridge, where he proceeded doctor of law, and was the king's professor in that faculty, chosen vice-chancellor of the University 1550, soon after he was made president of Magdalen college in Oxford, which place he waved in the reign of queen Mary, and sheltered himself in obscurity. Queen Elizabeth made him one of the masters of her requests, and employed him in several embassies beyond the seas. Her majesty being demanded whether she preferred him or Buchanan for learning, wittily and warily returned,

\* *Buchananum omnibus antepono, Haddonum nemini postpono.*

S. Memorix.

*Gualtero Haddono Equestri loco nato, juris Consulto, Oratori, Poetæ celeberrimo, Græcæ Latinæq; Eloquentiæ sui temporis facilè principi, sapientia & sanctitate vitæ, in id erecto ut Regina Elizabethæ*

L 1 2

\* I prefer Buchanan to all, I place Haddon second to none.

Q. Eliz. zabethe à supplicum libellis Magister esset, destinaturq; majoribus, nisi fato immaturius cessisset : Interim in omni gradu viro longe Eminentissimo, Conjugi suo optimo merentissimoq; Anna Suttona, uxor ejus secunda flens mœrens desiderii sui signum posuit. Obiit anno Salut. hum. 1572 Ætatis 56.

### Sacred to the Memory

Of Walter Haddon born of a knightly family, a celebrated lawyer, orator, and poet. In greek and roman eloquence he far excelled all his cotemporaries, as well as in wisdom and sanctity of life; insomuch that he was made master of requests by queen Elizabeth, and designed for higher employments, had not death prevented their being conferred upon him. Ann Sutton, his second wife, as a proof of her affection erected this monument to a man most eminently distinguish'd, and a husband most deservedly beloved. He died in 1572, aged 56.

This his fair monument is extant in the wall, at the upper end of the chancel of Christ-church in London, where so many ancient inscriptions have been barbarously defaced. He and doctor Wotton settled trade between us and the Netherlands, and removed the mart to Embden: and both were famous for their reservedness in the case of succession, which they kept locked in their own breasts; so always resolved to do, (notwithstanding Leicester's solicitations of them to a declaration for the queen of Scots now his mistress, and hereafter in the queen of England's designe to be his wife) unless (as they alledged) their

their *Mistress* commanded their opinion; who Q. Eliz certainly never heard any more unwillingly than the controversie about the title of succession: and both as famous for their dissuasion against the making of the Netherlands a free-state; urging that of Machiavel, *That people accustomed to live under a Prince, if by any accident they become free, are like beasts let loose; and have much ado to maintain either their Government or their Liberty.*

---

## *Observations on the Life of Sir William Ruffel.*

**H**IS very name brought Tyrone upon his knees to him, and Iniskillyn to a surrender. He was for detaining Tyrone, notwithstanding his letters of protection: the council was for dismissing him, either out of favour to him, or out of their reverence to their former promise; as much to the danger of Ireland, as the displeasure of the queen. Pretending an hunting-match, he had almost taken Feagh Mac Hugh, or shut him up; and under the disguise of a progress, he shut up all the passages and avenues of Tyrone. Agiges the Cretan king would say, *That he that would govern many, must fight with many*: our deputy found that great honour had its great difficulties; yet was he so constant and resolute, that with Marcellus he would say, *That as there are many things a good go-*

*Q. Eliz. vernour ought not to attempt; so ought he not to*  
*defist, or give over an Enterprize once begun and*  
*taken in hand. Therefore his character is One*  
*daring in his person, close to his purpose, firm*  
*to his dependencies, of a deep and large soul,*  
*who looked upon the chargeable war in Ireland*  
*as an equal remedy against a worse in England,*  
*to the letting of blood in one part, against the*  
*effusion of it in another: and advised the be-*  
*stowing of church-lands among the nobility of*  
*both perswasions in Ireland as in England, who*  
*would then hold their religion with their land,*  
*in Capite, and stick to the queen as the great sup-*  
*port of both, against all pretenders, whom then*  
*most would vigorously oppose, and all would*  
*fairly leave.*

---


*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir Thomas Roper.*

Lloyd.

**S**IR Thomas Roper, *servant to Queen Eliza-*  
*beth, was born in Friday-street in London;*  
*whose Grandfather was a younger son of the house*  
*of Heanour in Derbyshire. He going over into the*  
*Low Countries, became Page to Sir John Norrice,*  
*and was Captain of a Foot-company at sixteen years*  
*of Age. What afterwards his Martial Perfor-*  
*mances were, will appear by the following lines*  
*transcribed out of the Originall of his Patent.*

Whereas Thomas Roper knight, one of our  
 privy-councillours of the kingdome of Ireland,  
 long

long since hath been known unto us *famous*, with Q. Eliz. the splendour of his warlike vertue; as who by the many atchivements valiantly performed by him in the late war of this kingdome, hath gained the eminent repute both of a stout soldier, and a discreet commander; whose valour chiefly appeared in his retreat near le Boyle in our province of Connaught, where with very few horse he undauntedly charged great troops of the horse of the enemy, who in a hostile manner foraged the very bowels of the kingdome; and by his wisdom made such a singular retreat, that he not onely saved himself and his men, but also delivered the whole army from great danger, and slew very many of his enemies. Who also when our province of Ulster was all on fire with war, being one out of many, was for the tryed resolution of his mind, chosen by the right honourable the earl of Essex, then general of the army, to undertake a duel with Makal, and declined not to expose himself to the appointed duel. And also when the afore-said Thomas Roper in the late war in the kingdome of France at Brest, by exposing himself to the greatest perils, and shedding of his own blood, demonstrated his courage to be unconquerable. Who also in the voyage to Portugal, behaved himself valiantly and honourably: as also at Bergen in the Netherlands, when it was besieged by the Spaniards, approved himself a young man of invincible valour in the defence thereof. Who also in the day wherein Kinsale was assaulted, was placed in the first rank, nearest of all unto the town; and with no less success,

**Q. Eliz** cefs than valour, to the great fafety of the **whole**  army, beat back, and put to flight the Spaniards, who in the fame day made feveral fallies out of the town.

Know therefore, that we, in intuition of the premifes, have appointed the aforefaid Thomas Roper knight, &c,

Then followeth his patent, wherein king Charles the firft, in the third of his reign, created him baron of Bauntree, and viscount Baltin-  
glafs in Ireland.

He was a principal means to break the hearts of the Irish rebels: for whereas formerly the English were loaded with their own cloaths, fo fo that their flipping into bogs did make them, and the clopping of their breeches did keep them prifoners therein; he firft, being then a commander, put himfelf into Irish trouzes, and was imitated firft by all his officers, then fouldiers; fo that thus habited, they made the more effectual execution on their enemies. He died at Ropers Reft, anno Dom. 164.—and was buried with Anne his wife, (daughter to fir Henry Harrington) in St. John's Church in Dublin.



---

*Observations on the Life of*  
*Sir Henry Umpton.*

**S**IR Henry Umpton was born at Wadley Lloyd in Barkshire. He was son to sir Edward Umpton, by Anne (the relict of John Dudley earl of Warwick, and) the eldest daughter of Edward Seymour duke of Somerset. He was employed by queen Elizabeth embassador into France; where he so behaved himself right stoutly in her behalf, as may appear by this particular. In the moneth of March, anno 1592, being sensible of some injury offered by the duke of Guise to the queen of England, he sent him this ensuing challenge.

For as much as lately in the lodging of my lord Du Mayne, and in publick elsewhere, impudently, indiscreetly, and over-boldly you spoke badly of my soveraign, whose sacred person here in this country I represent: to maintain both by word and weapon her honour, (which never was called in question among people of honesty and vertue) I say, you have wickedly lyed in speaking so basely of my soveraign; and you shall do nothing else but lye, whensoever you shall dare to tax her honour: moreover then her sacred person (being one of the most compleet and vertuous princess that lives in this world) ought not to be evil spoken of the tongue of such a  
perfi-

**Q. Eliz.** perfidious traytor to her law and country as you are. And hereupon I do defy you, and challenge your person to mine, with such manner of arms as you shall like or chuse, be it either on horse-back or on foot. Nor would I have you to think any inequality of person between us, I being issued of as great a race and noble house (every way) as your self. So assigning me an indifferent place, I will there maintain my words, and the lye which I gave you, and which you should not endure if you have any courage at all in you. If you consent not to meet me hereupon, I will hold you, and cause you to be generally held one of the arrantest cowards, and most slanderous slave that lives in all France. I expect your answer.

I find not what answer was returned. This sir Henry dying in the French king's camp before Lofear, had his corpse brought over to London, and carried in a coach to Wadley, thence to Farington, where he was buried in the church on Tuesday the eighth of July, 1596. He had allowed him a baron's hearse, because he died ambassadour Leiger.

---

*Observations on the Life of  
the Earl of Effex.*

**I**T is to be observed, that the earl of Effex Lloyd. had his introduction to favour by the lord of Leicester, who had married his mother; a tye of affinity. This young lord was a most goodly person, in whom was a kind of urbanity, or innate courtesie, which both won the queen, and too much took upon the people, to gaze upon the new-adopted son of her favour. He was noted even of those that truly loved and honoured him, for too bold an ingrosser both of fame and favour. Having upon occasion left the court for a while, he gave a fair opportunity for his foes to undermine him; so that he lived a mixture between prosperity and adversity: once very great in her favour, which was afterwards lost, for want of consideration and cunningness. He was raised by Leicester to poize Rawley, as Rawley was by Suffex to check Leicester. Indeed pity first opened the door to him for his father's sake that died in Ireland, alliance led him in for his father-in-law's sake \* that reigned at court. His own royal blood welcomed him for his mother Knowles, that was kin to her majesty; his good parts, his tall and comely personage, his sweet disposition, and incomparable nature; his noble ancestors, his fair, though impaired  
for-

\* Leicester. See sir H. Wotton's Observations.

*Q.* Eliz. fortune, brought him first to favour, and then  
to dalliance.

He was a master-piece of court and camp; his beauty enamelling his valour, and his valour being a foile to his beauty; both drawing those noble respects of love and honour; both *awing*, both *endearing*. It was his nobleness that he distrusted none, it was his weakness that he trusted all; whereby he suffered more from those that should have been his friends, than from them who were his enemies. Good man! his ruine was, that he measured other breasts by his own; and that he thought mankind was as innocent as his own person. His merit gained applause, and his parasites swelled it to popularity; and the last enjealousied that majesty which the first had obliged. His youthful and rash sallies abroad, gave too much opportunity to his enemies whispers, and too visible occasions for her majesties suspicion, that he was either weak and so not to be favoured; or dangerous, and so to be suppressed. Absence makes princes forget those they love, and mistrust those they fear. Exact correspondence is the sinew of private and publick friendship. So great a master he thought himself of his soveraign's affection, that he must needs be master of himself, and steal to France without leave, where, said the queen, he might have been knocked on the head as Sidney was. His journey to France was not more rash, than his voyage to Cales was renowned; yet the one gave the envious arguments of his disobedience, and the other of his disloyalty; his enemies suggesting, that in the first he contemned his mistress, and that in the second he had a designe upon her.

His

His action at Cales was applauded; but his Q. Eliz. triumphs were too solemn, his panegyricks too high, his train too princely, his honours and knighthoods too cheap, his popularity too much affected, and his ear more open to hear what he *had done*, than what *he was*. If his manhood had been as slow as his \* youth, he had been moderate: if his life had answered his † education, he had been patient: if his eye had been as open open upon his enemies, as his ear to his friends, he had been cautious: if he had been as happy in his constant converse, as he was obliging in his first address, he had been a prince: if he had either a less fortune, or a greater soul; either less of the dove, or more of the serpent, he had bid fair for a crown; or at least had saved his head. The people wished him well, but they are unconstant; the queen loved him, but she is jealous: his followers are numerous, but giddy; affectionate, but ill advised: his enemies are few, but watchful on all occasions: for is he pleased? they swell it to pride and vain imaginations: is he crossed? they improve it to discontent and sedition. An army must be sent against Tyrone; he is not willing that any other should lead it, and unwilling to lead it himself; yet over he goeth fatally: for the service was knotty, and his disposition smooth; his power was large, but that with as large a minde intangled him: his army was great, but that meeting with a great designe, precipitated him: his title to the crown was defended, but that lost him his head. He had exact advices from friends,

\* He was one of them whose natures disclose but slowly.

† Under Dr. Whitgift.

**Q.** Eliz. friends, especially from sir Francis Bacon ; and great directions from his prince, but he followed his own : when he should have fought the main body of his enemy, he skirmisheth their forlorns ; when he should have returned with a noble conquest, he stole home after a suspicious treaty : the royal checks that should have instructed, incensed him ; and what was designed a chastisement, he turns to a ruine. Beloved he is of the people, but that aggravateth his rashness ; flattered by courtiers, but that swelleth his humour : followed he is by the discontented of church and state, but that increaseth the jealousie ; ill advised he is by heady Cuffe and Meyriche, and that hasteneth his fall : humbled he is by the advancement of his rivals, and that enrageth him : easie and open was his nature ; close, active, and vigilant his enemies.

Valiant he was, but therefore feared ; noble and obliging to all hopeful men, and therefore watched. A great party he had, but they had no head : a minion he was at once to prince and people, but he had no balance. A man of great performances, but no designe : one that had too much religion and fidelity to be a traytor, too good a nature to be safe, too much presumption on affections when absent to be steady. He presumed too much on his own strength, or his friends wisdom, when he came out of Ireland ; he was too much wrought upon by his enemies when he came to London, which had too much to lose to hazard a rebellion ; and went not to Wales, where his father's and his own goodness had engaged 1000 lives and fortunes. In a word, Leicester's

Leicester's reservedness, Bacon's stayedness, sir Q. Eliz. Robert Cecil's humility, sir Fulke Grevil's modesty, added to his parts and presence, his valour and liberality, his good nature and large heart : his favour with his prince, and popularity with the subjects, had raised him to a capacity with the great earl of Warwick, to set the English crown on what head he pleased ; although it was the universal opinion, he had no other ambition than to set it on king James his head, which it belonged to, with his own hands : his designe was well principled, but not well moulded ; he had many hands, but no able heads : his correspondence was universal, but not firm and exact ; his nature was active, but impatient ; his interest was popular, not thoroughly understood ; he neither comprehending the inclinations of the kingdome in gross in parliament, nor in the retayl in its particular divisions. The catholicks might have been his, but he was too good-natured to cajole them : the state was well inclined, but effeminate after so long prosperity. Hope of pardon sent him to his grave with more silence than was expected from him, and the peoples regret ; and with more sorrow than became a queen or her kingdomes safety. His party was too needy, and their counsels too violent. Ambition and good nature are incompatible : others counsels are never so faithful as our own. When we hear others advice, let our reason judge of it ; when great, be wary ; when successful, reserved ; when rising, stayed ; especially in that age when men were poysoned with oyl, and undone with honey : when active, modest ; when checked, yielding ; when dandled, distrustful ;  
when

**Q.** Eliz. when flattered, fearful; when great, not absolute, (as my lord would have been in point of favour against my lord Mountjoy, and valour against my lord Norris.) Serve not your followers, but employ them: let others service administer to your designe, not your power to theirs: let great actions encourage greater; and let honour be your merit, and not your expectation. Some have been busie in the enquiry of what reason the virgin-queen had for her kindness to Leicester and this man, (if there be a reason in any, much less in royal love, save the affection its self that bears it) true, he had vertue and suffering enough at his first arrival to engage the kindness and pity of a worse princess: yet some then discoursed of a conjunction of their stars that made way for that of their minds. Certainly (saith Cambden) the inclination of princes to some persons, and their disfavour towards others, may seem fatal, and guided by higher powers.

---

*A Paralel between the Earl of Essex  
and the Duke of Buckingham,  
by H. W.*

**Lloyd.** **T**HE beginning of the earl of Essex I must attribute wholly, or in great part to my lord of Leicester; but yet as an introducer or supporter, not as a teacher: for as I go along, it will easily appear, that he neither lived nor died by his disci-



discipline. Always certain it is, that he drew *Q. Eliz.* him first into the fatal circle from a kinde of resolved privateness at his house at Lampfie, in South-wales; where, after the academical life, he had taken such a taste of the rural, (as I have heard him say) and not upon any flashes or fumes of melancholy, or traverses of discontent, but in a serene and quiet mood, that he could well have bent his mind to a retired course. About which time, the said earl of Leicester bewrayed a meaning to plant him in the queen's favour: which was diversly interpreted by such as thought that great artizan of court to do nothing by chance, nor much by affection. Some therefore were of opinion, that feeling more and more in himself the weight of time, and being almost tired (if there be a satiety in power) with that assiduous attendance, and intensive circumspection which a long-indulgent fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling, for his own ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some part of the pains, and perhaps of the envy.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same ends brought in, or let in sir Walter Rawleigh, and having found him such an apprentice as knew well enough how to set up for himself, he now meant to allie him with this young earl, who had yet taken no strong impressions. For though the said sir Walter Raleigh was a little before this, whereof I now speak by occasion, much fallen from his former splendour in court: yet he still continued in some lustre of a favoured man, like billows that sink by degrees, even when the wind is down that first stirred them.

M m

Thus

Q. Eliz. Thus runs the discourse of that time at pleasure; yet I am not ignorant that there was some good while a very stiff averſation in my lord of Effex from applying himſelf to the earl of Leiſceſter, for what ſecret conceit I know not; but howſoever, that humour was mollified by time, and by his mother; and to the court he came under his lord.

The duke of Buckingham had another kinde of Germination; and ſurely had he been a plant, he would have been reckoned amongſt the \* *Sponte Naſcentes*: for he ſprung without any help by a kind of congenial compoſure (as we may term it) to the likenes of our late ſoveraign and maſter of ever bleſſed memory: who taking him into his regard, taught him more and more to pleaſe himſelf, and moulded him (as it were) platonically to his own *Idea*; delighting firſt in the choiſe of the materials, becauſe he found him ſuſceptible of good form; and afterward by degrees, as great architects uſe to do, in the workmanſhip of his regal hand: nor ſtaying here, after he had hardned and poliſhed him about ten years in the ſchool of obſervance, (for ſo a court is) and in the furnace of tryal about himſelf, (for he was a king could peruſe men as well as books) he made him the aſſociate of his heir apparent, together with the new lord Cottington (as an adjunct of ſingular experience and truſt) in forraign travels, and in a buſineſs of love, and of no equal hazard (if the tenderneſs of our zeal did not then deceive us) enough (the world muſt confeſs) to kindle affection even between the diſtanteſt conditions; ſo as by the various

\* Spontaneous ones.

various and inward conversation abroad, (besides Q Eliz. that before and after at home) with the most constant and best-natured prince, \* *Bona si sua porint*, as ever England enjoyed, this duke becomes now secondly seized of favour, as it were by descent, (though the condition of that estate be no more than a tenancy at will, or at most for the life of the first lord) and rarely transmitted: which I have briefly set down, without looking beyond the vail of the temple, I mean into the secret of high inclinations; since even satyrical poets, (who are otherwise of so licentious fancy) are in this point modest enough to confess their ignorance.

† *Nescio quid certe est quod me tibi temperet Astrum.*


And these were both their springings and imprimings, as I may call them.

In the profluence or proceedings of their fortunes, I observe likewise not onely much difference between them, but in the earl not a little from himself. First, all his hopes of advancement had like to be strangled almost in the very cradle, by throwing himself into the Portugal voyage without the queen's consent, or so much as her knowledge; whereby he left his friends and dependents near six months in desperate suspense what would become of him. And to speak truth, not without good reason: for first, they might well consider, that he was himself not well plumed in favour for such a flight: besides, that

M m 2 . . . . . now


\* If their own happiness they knew.

† Some secret influence binds me to thee.

Q. Eliz. now he wanted a lord of Leicester at home (for  he was dead the year before) to smoothe his absence, and to quench the practices at court. But above all, it lay open to every man's discourse, that though the bare offence to his sovereign and mistress was too great an adventure, yet much more when she might (as in this case) have fairly discharged her displeasure upon her laws. Notwithstanding, a noble report coming home before him, at his return all was clear, and this excursion was esteemed but a fally of youth. Nay, he grew every day more and more in her gracious conceit: whether such intermissions as these do sometimes foment affection; or that having committed a fault, he became the more obsequious and plyant to redeem it; or that she had not received into her royal breast any shadows of his popularity.

There was another time long after, when sir Fulke Grevil, (late lord Brooke) a man in appearance intrinsecal with him, or at the least admitted to his melancholy hours, either belike espying some weariness in the queen; or perhaps, with little change of the word, though more in the dangerous marks towards him, and working upon the present matter, (as she was dexterous and close) had almost super-induced into favour the earl of Southampton; which yet being timely discovered, my lord of Essex chose to evaporate his thoughts in a sonnet (being his common way) to be sung before the queen, (as it was) by one Hales, in whose voyce she took some pleasure; whereof the complot me thinks had as much of the hermit as of the poet:

*And*

*And if thou shouldst by Her be now forsaken, Q. Eliz.  
She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken.* 

As if he had been casting one eye back at the least to his former retiredness. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after fair weather over-head. Yet still, I know not how, like a gathering of clouds, till towards his latter time, when his humours grew tart, as being now in the lees of favour, it brake forth into certain suddain recesses; sometimes from the court to Wansteed, otherwhiles unto Greenwich, often to his own chamber, doors shut, visits forbidden; and which was worse, divers contestations (between) with the queen her self, (all preambles of ruine) wherewith tho' now and then he did wring out of her majesty some petty contentments, (as a man would press sowre grapes) yet in the mean time was forgotten the counsel of a wise, and then a propheticall friend, who told him, that such courses as those were like hot waters, which help at a pang, but if they be too often used, will spoil the stomach.

On the duke's part, we have no such abrupt strains and precipices as these, but a fair, fluent and uniform course under both kings: and surely, as there was in his natural constitution a marvellous equality, whereof I shall speak more afterwards; so there was an image of it in his fortune, running (if I may borrow an ancient comparison) as smoothly as a numerous verse, till it meet with certain rubs in *Parliament*, whereof I am induced by the very subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so far as shall concern the difference between their times.

**Q. Eliz.** **W**HEN my lord of Essex stood in favour, the parliaments were calm: nay, I find it a true observation, that there was no impeachment of any nobleman by the commons from the reign of king Henry the sixth, until the eighteenth of king James, nor any intervention precedent of that nature; nor that something or other could be wanting to be said, while men are men: for not to go higher, we are taught easily so much by the very ballads and libels of Leicestrian times.

But above the aforesaid year, many young ones being chosen into the house of commons more than had been usual in great councils; (who though of the weakest wings, are the highest flyers) there arose a certain unfortunate and unfruitful spirit in some places; not sowing but picking at every stone in the field, rather than tending to the general harvest. And thus far the consideration of the nature of the time hath transported me, and the occasion of the subject.

Now on the other side, I must with the like liberty observe two weighty and watchful sollicitudes, (as I may call them) which kept the earl in extream and continual caution, like a bow still bent, whereof the dukes thoughts were absolutely free.


First, he was to wrestle with the queen declining, or rather with her very setting age, (as we may term it) which, besides other respects, is commonly even of itself the more umbratious and apprehensive, as for the most part all horizons are charged with certain vapours towards their evening.

The other was a matter of more circumstance, standing thus, viz.

All princes, especially those whom God hath Q. Eliza  
not blessed with natural issue, are, (by wisdom  
of state) somewhat shie of their successors; and  
to speak with due reverence, there may be reason-  
ably supposed in queen's regnant, a little pro-  
portion of tenderness that way more than in kings.  
Now there were in court two names of *power*,  
and almost of *affection*, the Essexian and the Ce-  
cilian, with their adherents, both well enough  
enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the  
future; and therefore both holding correspon-  
dency with some of the principals in Scotland,  
and had received advertisements and instructions,  
either from them, or immediately from the king  
as induciat heir of this Imperial crown.

But lest they might detect one another, this  
was mysteriously carried by several instruments  
and conducts, and on the Essexian side, in truth,  
with infinite hazard: for sir Robert Cecil who  
(as secretary of state) did dispose the publick ad-  
dresses, had prompter and safer conveyance;  
whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable pas-  
sage on either part, as the story following shall  
declare.

The earl of Essex had accommodated master  
Anthony Bacon in partition of his house, and had  
assigned him a noble entertainment. This was  
gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head;  
and through his hand run all the intelligence with  
Scotland: who being of a provident nature, (con-  
trary to his brother the lord viscount St. Albans)  
and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous  
secret, would many times cunningly let fall some  
words, as if he could amend his fortunes under  
the Cecilians, (to whom he was near of alliance,

Q. Eliz. and in blood also) and who had made (as he was  not unwilling should be believed) some great prof-  
fers to win him away: which once or twice he  
pressed so far, and with such tokens and signes  
of apparent discontent to my lord Henry Howard,  
afterwards earl of Northampton, (who was of  
the party, and stood himself in much umbrage  
with the queen) that he flees presently to my lord  
of Essex, (with whom he was commonly *\*prima  
admissionis*) by his bed-side in the morning, and  
tells him, that unless that gentleman were pre-  
sently satisfied with some round sum, all would  
be vented.

This took the earl, at that time ill provided,  
(as indeed oftentimes his coffers were low) where-  
upon he was fain suddenly to give him Essex-  
house; which the good old lady Walsingham did  
afterwards dis-engage out of her own store with  
2500 pound; and before, he had distilled 1500  
pound at another time by the same skill. So as  
we rate this one secret, as it was finely carried,  
at 4000 pounds in present money, besides at the  
least 1000 pound of annual pension to a private  
and bed rid gentleman: what would he have got-  
ten if he could have gone about his own business?

There was another accident of the same na-  
ture on the Cecilian side, much more pleasant,  
but less chargeable, for it cost nothing but wit.  
The queen having for a good while not heard  
any thing from Scotland, and being thirsty of  
news, it fell out that her majesty going to take  
the air towards the heath, (the court being then  
at Greenwich) and master secretary Cecil then at-  
tending her, a post came crossing by, and blew  
his

\* First admitted.




his horn: the queen out of curiosity asked him from Q. Eliz. whence the dispatch came; and being answered from Scotland; she stops her coach, and calleth for the packet. The secretary, though he knew there were some letters in it from his correspondents, which to discover, were as so many serpents; yet made more shew of diligence than of doubt to obey; and asks some that stood by (fortho in great haste) for a knife to cut up the packet, (for otherwise he might perhaps awaked a little apprehension) but in the mean time approaching with the packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the queen, he telleth her it looked and smelt ill-favouredly coming out of a filthy budget, and that it should be fit first to open and air it, because he knew she was averse from ill scents.

And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen.

These two accidents precisely true, and known to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my purpose, to shew how the earl stood in certain perplexities, wherewith the dukes days were not distracted. And this hath been the historical part (as it were) touching the difference between them in the rising and flowing of their fortunes.

I will now consider their several endowments both of *person* and *mind*, and then a little of their *actions* and *Ends*.

The earl was a pretty deal the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler body: but the duke had the neater limbs, and free delivery; he was also the

**Q.** *Eliz.* the uprighter, and of the more comely motions:  for the earl did bend a little in the neck, though rather forwards than downwards: and he was so far from being a good dancer, that he was no graceful goer. If we touch particulars, the duke exceeded in the daintiness of his leg and foot, and the earl in the incomparable fairness and fine shape of his hands; which (though it be but feminine praise) he took from his father; for the general air, the earl had the closer and more reserved countenance, being by nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more than at meals, when others are least: insomuch, as he was wont to make his observation of himself, that to solve any knotty business which cumbered his mind, his ablest hours were when he had checked his first appetite with two or three morsels, after which he sat usually for a good while silent: yet he would play well and willingly at some games of greatest attention: which shewed, that when he list he could license his thoughts.

The duke on the other side, even in the midst of so many diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant face, (as I may well call it) proceeding no doubt from a singular assurance in his temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer eulogie, which the malignest eye cannot deny him, That certainly never man in his place and power, did entertain greatness more familiarly, nor whose looks were less tainted with his felicity; wherein I insist the rather, because this in my judgement was one of his greatest virtues and victories of himself.

But to proceed: in the attiring and ornament of their bodies, the duke had a fine and unaffected

fectest politeness, and upon occasion costly, as in Q. Eliz.  
his legations.

The earl as he grew more and more attentive to business and matter, so less and less curious of cloathing: insomuch; as I do remember, those about him had a conceit, that possibly sometimes: when he went up to the queen, he might scant know what he had on: for this was his manner: his chamber being commonly stived with friends or suiters of one kinde or other; when he gave his legs, arms, and breast to his ordinary servants to button and dress him with little heed, his head and face to his barbour, his eyes to his letters, and ears to petitioners, and many times all at once; then the gentleman of his robes throwing a cloak over his shoulders, he would make a step into his closet, and after a short prayer, he was gone: only in his baths he was somewhat delicate. For point of diet and luxury, they were both inordinate in their appetites, especially the earl, who was by nature of so different a taste, that I must tell a rare thing of him (though it be but a homely note) that he would stop in the midst of any physical potion, and after he had licked his lips, he would drink off the rest, but I am weary of such flight animadversions.

To come therefore to the inward furniture of their minds, I will thus much declare.

The earl was of good erudition, having been placed at study in Cambridge very young by the lord Burleigh his guardian, with affectionate and deliberate care, under the oversight of doctor Whitgift, then master of Trinity-colledge, and after archbishop of Canterbury; a man (by the way) surely of a most reverend and sacred memory,

**Q.** Eliz. mory, and, (as I may well say) even of the primitive temper, when the church in lowliness of temper did flourish in high examples, which I have inserted as a due recordation of his vertues having been much obliged to him for many favours in my younger time.

About sixteen years of his age (for thither he came at twelve) he took the formality of master of arts, and kept his publick acts. And here I must not smother what I have received by constant information, that his own father dyed with a very cold conceit of him, some say through the affection to his second son Walter Devereux, who was indeed a diamond of the time, and both of an hardy and delicate temper and mixture: But it seems, this earl, like certain vegetables, did bud and open slowly; nature sometimes delighting to play an aftergame as well as fortune, which had both their turnes and tides in course.

The duke was illiterate, yet had learned at court, first to sift and question well, and to supply his own defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best instruments of experience and knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive manner, to suck what might be for the publick or his own proper use; so as the less he was favoured by the muses, he was the more by, the graces.

To consider them in their pure naturals, I conceive the earls intellectual faculties to have been his stronger part, and in the duke his practical.

Yet all know, that he likewise at the first was much under the expectation of his after proof; such a sudden influence therein had the sovereign aspect. For their abilities of discourse or pen, the earl was a very acute and sound speaker when  
he

he would intend it; and for his writings, they are beyond example, especially in his familiar letters and things of delight at court, when he would admit his serious habits, as may be yet seen in his impresses and inventions of entertainment; and above all, in his darling piece of love, and self-love; his stile was an elegant perspicuity, rich of phrase, but seldome any bold metaphors, and so far from tumor, that it rather wanted a little elevation.

The dukes delivery of his mind I conceive not to be so sharpe as solid and grave, not solid and deep as pertinent, and apposite to the times and occasions.

The earl I account the more liberal, and the duke the more magnificent; for I do not remember that my lord of Essex in all his life-time did build or adorne any house, the queen perchance spending his time, and himself his meanes, or otherwise inclining to popular ways; for we know the people are apter to applaud house-keepers, than house-raisers. They were both great cherishers of scholars and divines; but it seems, the earl had obtained of himself one singular point, that he could depart his affection between two extreams: for though he bare always a kind of filial reverence towards dr. Whitgift, both before and after he was archbishop; yet on the other side, he did not a little love and tender master Cartwright, though I think truly, with large distinction between the persons and the causes, howsoever he was taxed with other ends in respecting that party.

They were both fair spoken gentlemen, not prone and eager to detract openly from any man; in this the earl hath been most falsly blemished in our vulgar story: only against one man he had  
for

Q. Eliz. forsworn all patience, namely Henry lord Cob-  
 ~~~~~ ham, and would call him ( \* *per excellentiam* )  
 the fycophant (as if it had been an emblem of
 his name) even to the queen herself though of no
 small insinuation with her; and one lady likewise
 (that I may civilly spare to nominate, for her sex
 sake) whom he used to terme the spyder of the
 court: yet generally in the sensitive part of their
 natures the earl was the worse philosopher, being
 a great resenter and a weak dissembler of the least
 disgrace: and herein likewise, as in the rest, no
 good pupill to my lord of Leicester, who was
 wont to put all his passions in his pocket.

In the growth of their fortunes, the duke was
 a little the swifter, and much the greater; for from
 a younger brother's mean estate, he rose to the
 highest degree whereof a subject was capable
 either in title or trust. Therein I must confess
 much more comfortable to Charles Brandon un-
 der Henry the eight, who was equal to him in
 both.

For matter of donative and addition of sub-
 stance, I do not believe that the duke did much
 exceed him, all considered, under both kings.

For that which the earl of Essex had received
 from her majesty, besides the fees of his offices
 and the disposition of great summes of money in
 her armies, was (about the time of his arraign-
 ment, when faults use to be aggravated with pre-
 cedent benefits) valued at three hundred thou-
 sand pounds sterling in pure gift for his onely
 use, to the earl of Dorset then lord treasurer;
 who was a wise man, and a strict computist, and
 not ill affected towards him. And yet it is wor-
 thy

*. By way of eminence.

thy of note in the margent of both times, that **Q. Eliz.** the one was prosecuted with silence, and the other with murmur; so undoing a measure is popular judgment.

I cannot here omit between them a great difference in establishing of both their fortunes and fames.

For the first, the duke had a care to introduce into neer place at the court divers of his confident servants, and into high places very sound and grave personages. Whereas, except a pensioner or two, we can scant name any one man advanced of the earl's breeding, but sir Thomas Smith, having been his secretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble house) than to the clerk of the councell, and register of the parliament: not that the earl meant to stand alone like a substantive (for he was not so ill a *Grammarians* in court;) but the truth is, in this point the Cecilians kept him back, as very well knowing, that upon every little absence or diffiduity, he should be subject to take cold at his back.

For the other, in managing of their fames, I note between them a direct contrary wisdom; for the earl proceeded by way of apology, which he wrote and dispersed with his own hands at large, though till his going to Ireland they were but airy objections. But of the duke this I know, that one having offered for his ease to do him that kinde of service; he refused it with a pretty kinde of thankful scorn, saying, that he would trust his own good intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his errors; and that he

law

Q. Eliz. saw no fruit of apologies, but the multiplying of discourse: which surely was a well settled maxime. And for my own particular (though I am not obnoxious to his memory) in the expression of Tacitus, **Neque injuria, neque beneficio*, saving that he shewed me an ordinary good countenance; and if I were, yet I would distinguish between gratitude and truth. I must bear him this testimony, that in a commission laid upon me by sovereign command to examine a lady about a certain filthy accusation grounded upon nothing but a few single names taken up by a footman in a kennel, and straight baptized, a list of such as the duke had appointed to be poysoned at home, himself being then in Spain; I found it to be the most malicious and frantick surmise, and the most contrary to his nature that I think had ever been brewed from the beginning of the world, howsoever countenanced by a libellous pamphlet of a fugitive physician even in print; and yet of this would not the duke suffer any answer to be made on his behalf, so constant he was to his own principles.

In their military services the characters of the earls employments were these, viz.

His forwardest was that of Portugal, before mentioned.

The saddest, that of Roan, where he lost his brave brother.

His fortunatest peice I esteem the taking of Cadiz Malez, and no less modest; for there he wrote with his own hands a censure of his omisions.

His

* Neither by any instance of wrong, nor peculiar advantage.

His jealouslest imployment was to the relief of *Q. Eliz.* Calais besieged by the cardinal arch-duke : about which, there passed then between the queen and the French king much art.

His voyage to the Azores was the best, for the discovery of the Spanish weakness, and otherwise almost a saving voiage.

His blackest was that to Ireland, ordained to be the sepulchre of his father, and the gulph of own his fortunes.

But the first in 88, at Tilbury-camp, was in my judgement the very poyson of all that followed ; for there whilest the queen stood in some doubt of a Spanish invasion (though it proved but a Morrice-dance upon our waves) she made him in field commander of the cavalry (as he was before in court) and much graced him openly in view of the souldiers and people, even above my lord of Leicester : the truth is, from thenceforth he fed too fast.


The dukes employment abroad in this nature, was onely in the action of the Isle of Reez, of which I must note somewhat for the honour of our country, and of his majesties times, and of them that perished and survived, and to redeem it generally from mis-understanding. Therefore after enquiry amongst the wisest and most indifferent men, of that action, I dare pronounce, that all circumstances pondered : a tumultuary banding on our part, with one thousand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred horse, with neer two thousand foot, and watching their best time of advantage, none of their foot discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and onely some of their horse descried stragling,

Q. Eliz. but not in any bulk or body: their cavalry not a troop of Gascoignors mounted in haste, but the greater part gentlemen of family, and of pickt resolution, and such as charged home both in front and on both flanks into the very sea; about *six score* of their two hundred horse strewed upon the sand, and none of them but one killed with a great shot; and after this their foot likewise coming on to charge, till not liking the business they fell to flinging of stones, and so walked away:

I say; these things considered and laid together, we have great reason to repute it a great impression upon an unknown place, and a noble argument that upon occasion we have not lost our ancient vigour. Only I could wish that the duke who then in the animating of the souldiers shewed them very eminent assurance of his valour, had afterwards remembered that rule of Apelles, * *Manum de Tabula*. But he was greedy of honour, and hot upon the publique ends, and too confident in the prosperity of beginnings, as somewhere Polybius, *that great critique* of war, observeth of young leaders whom fortune hath not before deceived. In this their military care and dispensation of reward and punishment, there was very few remarkable occasions under the duke, saving his continuall vigilancie and voluntary hazard of his person, and kindneses to souldiers, both from his own table and purse; for there could be few disorders within an island where the troops had no scope to disband, and the inferior commanders were still in sight.

In the earl we have two examples of his severity, the one in the island voyage, where he
threw

* Know when to leave off.

threw a souldier with his own hands, out of a *Q. Eliz.* ship; the other in Ireland, where he decimated certain troops that ran away, renewing a peice of the Roman discipline. 

On the other side, we have many of his lenitie, and one of his facility, when he did connive at the bold trespass of sir Walter Raleigh, who before his arrivall at Fyall, had banded there against his precise commandment; at which time he let fall a noble word, being pressed by one, (whose name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a martial court: that I would do (said he) if he were not my friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last act, which was written in the book of necessity.

At the earl's end I was abroad, but when I came home (though little was left for writers to gleane after judges) yet, I spent some curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious catastrophe; and I must, according to my professed freedome, deliver a circumstance or two of some weight in the truth of that story, which was neither discovered at his arraignment, nor after in any of his private confessions.

There was amongst his nearest attendants one Henry Cusse, a man of secret ambitious ends of his own, and of proportionate counsels smothered under the habit of a scholar, and flubbered over with a certain rude and clownish fashion, that had the semblance of integrity.

This person not above five or six weeks before my lord's fatall irruption in the city, was by the

Q. Eliz. earl's special command suddainly discharged from
 { all further attendance, or access unto him, out
 of an inward displeasure then taken against his
 sharp and importune infusions, and out of a
 glimmering oversight, that he would prove the
 very instrument of his ruine.

I must adde hereunto, that about the same
 time my lord had received from the countess of
 Warwick (a lady powerful in the court, and in-
 deed a vertuous user of her power) the best ad-
 vice that I think was ever given from either
 sex; that when he was free from restraint, he
 should closely take any out-lodging at Green-
 wich, and sometimes when the queen went a-
 broad in a good humour, (whereof she would
 give him notice) he should come forth, and
 humble himself before her in the field.

This counsel sunk much into him; and for
 some days he resolved it: but in the mean time,
 through the intercession of the earl of South-
 ampton, whom Cuffe had gained, he was re-
 stored to my lord's ear, and so working advan-
 tage upon his disgraces, and upon the vain foun-
 dation of vulgar breath, which hurts many good
 men, spun out the final destruction of his master
 and himself; and almost of his restorer, if his
 pardon had not been won by inches.


True it is, that the earl in Westminster-hall
 did in generall disclose the evil perswasions of
 this man; but the particulars which I have re-
 lated by this dismissal and restitution, he buried
 in his own breast for some reasons apparent e-
 nough; indeed (as I conjecture) not to exaspe-
 rate the case of my lord of Southampton, tho'
 he might therewith a little peradventure have
 molli-

mollified his own. The whole and true report I ^{Q. Eliz.} had by infallible meanes from the person himself that both brought the advice from the aforesaid excellent lady, and carried the discharge to Cusse, who in a private chamber was stricken, therewith into a sound almost dead to the earth, as if he had fallen from some high steeple; such turrets of hope he had built in his own fancy.

Touching the duke's suddain period, how others have represented it unto their fancies, I cannot determine: for my part, I must confess from my soul that I never recall it to minde without a deep and double astonishment of my discourse and reason.

First, of the very horreur and attrocitie of the fact in a christian court, under so moderate a government; but much more at the impudencie of the pretence, whereby a desperate discontented assassinate would after the perpetration have honested a meere private revenge (as by precedent circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publick respects, and would fain have given it a parliamentary cover howsoever. Thus these two great peers were dis-roabed of their glory, the one by judgement, the other by violence, which was the small distinction.

Now after this short contemplation of their diversities, (for much more might have been spoken, but that I was fitter for rhapsody than commentary) I am lastly desirous to take a summary view of their conformities, which I verily believe will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few, as are extant in any of the ancient parallels.

Q. Eliz. They both slept long in the arms of fortune :  they were both of ancient blood, and of forraign extraction : they were both of strait and goodly stature, and of able and active bodies : they were both industrious and assiduous, and attentive to their ends : they were both early privie-counsellours, and employed at home in the secretest and weightiest affairs in court and state : they were both likewise commanders abroad in chief, as well by sea as by land, both masters of the horse at home, both chosen chancellours of the same University, namely, Cambridge : they were both indubitable strong and high-minded men ; yet of sweet and accostable nature, almost equally delighting in the press and affluence of dependants and suiters, which are always the burres, and sometimes the briars of favourites. They were both married to very vertuous ladies, and sole heirs, and left issue of either sex ; and both their wives converted to contrary religions. They were both in themselves rare and excellent examples of temperance and sobriety, but neither of them of continency.

Lastly, after they had been both subject (as well greatness and splendor is) to certain obloquies of their actions : they both concluded their earthly felicity in unnatural ends, and with no great distance of time in the space either of life or favour.

Observations on the Life of *Sir Jeffery Fenton.*

SIR Jeffery Fenton, born in Nottingham-Lloyd-shire, was for twenty seven years privy-counsellour in Ireland, to queen Elizabeth and king James. He translated the history of *Francis Guicciardine* out of Italian into English, and dedicated it to queen Elizabeth. He deceased at Dublin, October 19, 1608, and lyeth buried in St. Patrick's church, under the same tomb with his father-in law doctor Robert Weston, sometimes chancellour of Ireland. It is an happy age when great men do what wise men may write; an happier, when wise men write what great men have done; the happiest of all, when the same men act and write, being histories, and composing them too. For these men having a neerer, and more thorow-insight to the great subjects of annals than men of more distant capacities and fortunes, are the only persons that have given the world the right notion of transactions, when men of lower and more pedantique spirits trouble it only with more heavy romances. Give me the actions of a prince transcribed by those historians who could be instruments. The best history in the world is Cæsar's commentaries, written by him, and translated by Edmonds, with the same spirit that they were

Q. Eliz. acted. Xenophon and Thucydides, whose pens
 copied their narratives from their swords. Tacitus, Malvezzi, Machiavel, Comines, Moor, Bacon, Herbert and * Burleigh (who writ the affairs of former ages with the same judgement that they managed those of their own.) In a word, an history written by such a courtier as Guicciardine, and translated by such a counsellour as Fenton. Diamond only can cut diamond, the great onely express the great: a person that hath the sight of the intelligence, negotiations, conferences, and inward transactions of states, is one from whom I expect a more exact chronicle of this age than yet this nation hath been happy in,

*Observations on the Life of
 Doctor Fletcher.*

Lloyd.

GILES FLETCHER (brother to Richard Fletcher bishop of London) was born in Kent, as I am credibly † informed. He was bred first in Eaton, then in king's college in Cambridge, where he became doctor of law. A most excellent poet, (a quality hereditary to his two sons, Giles and Phineas) was sent commissioner into Scotland, Germany, and the

* His Eliz. to which Cambrden gave but the language and the transcript.

† From the mouth of Mr. Ramsey, minister of Rougham in Norfolk, who married the widow of Mr. Giles Fletcher, son to this Doctor.

the Low-countries, for queen Elizabeth, and Q. Eliz.
 her ambassador into Russia, secretary to the city
 of London, and master of the court of requests.
 His Russian embassie to settle the English *Mer-*
chandise was his *Master-piece*, to Theodor, Jua-
 nowich, *Duke of Muscovia*. He came thither in
 a dangerous juncture of time, viz. in the end of
 the year 1588.

*First, some Forreiners (I will not say they were
 the Hollanders) envying the free Trade of the
 English, had done them bad offices.*

*Secondly, a false report was generally believed
 that the Spanish Armado had worsted the English
 Fleet, and the duke of Moscovia, (who measured
 his favour unto the English, by the possibility he
 apprehended of their returning it) grew very spa-
 ring of his smiles, not to say free of his frowns on
 our Merchants residing there. However, our
 doctor demeaned himself in his embassie with such
 cautiousness, that he not onely escaped the duke's
 fury, but also procured many priviledges for our
 English merchants, exemplified in * Mr. Hack-
 luit. Returning home, and being safely arrived at
 London, he sent for his intimate friend Mr. Way-
 land, prebendary of St. Paul's, and senior fellow
 of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge (tutor to my fa-
 ther, from whose mouth I received this report)
 with whom he heartily expressed his thankfulness to
 God for his safe return from so great a danger;
 for the poets cannot fancy Ulysses more glad to be
 come out of the den Polyphemus, than he was to
 be rid out of the power of such a barbarous prince,
 who counting himself by a proud and voluntary
 mistake emperour of all nations, cared not for the
 law*

* In his volume of English Navigations, p. 374.

*Q. Eliz. law of all nations, and who was so habited in blood, that had he cut off this embassadour's head, he and his friends might have sought their own amends; but the question is, where he would have found it? he afterwards set forth a book called The Russian Common-wealth, expressing the government, or tyranny rather thereof; wherein (saith my * author) are many things most observable: but queen Elizabeth indulging the reputation of the duke of Muscovy as a confederate prince, permitted not the publick printing of that; which such who have private copies, know to set the valuation thereon.*

Observations on the Life of the Lord Mountjoy.

Lloyd. **T**HE lord Mountjoy was of the ancient nobility; as he came from Oxford, he took the Inner Temple in his way to court, whither no sooner come, but (without asking) had a pretty strange kind of admission. He was then much about twenty years of age, of a brown hair, a sweet face, a most neat composure, and tall in his person; so that he coming to see the fashion of the court, was spied out by the queen, and out of the affection she bare to the very sight of his face, received him into favour: upon the first

* Camb. in his Eliz. Anno 1583, when he was Agent in Muscovia, as afterward Ambassador.

First observation whereof, she professed that she **Q. Eliz.** knew there was in him some noble blood. He was one that wanted not wit and courage, for he had very fine attractions; and being a good scholar, yet were they accompanied with the re-tractives of bashfulness, and a natural modesty. There was in him an inclination to arms, with an humour of travelling: and as he was grown by reading (whereunto he was much addicted) to the theory of a souldier, so was he strongly invited by his genius to the acquaintance of the practick of the war, which were the causes of his excursions; for he had a company in the Low-Countrys, from whence he came over with a noble acceptance of the queen, but somewhat restless: in honourable thoughts he exposed himself again and again, and would press the queen with the pretences of visiting his company so often, that at length he had a flat denial, and yet he stole over with sir John Norris, into the action of Britain; but at last the queen began to take his decessions for contempts, and confined his residence to the court, and her own presence. She was so confident in her own princely judgement and opinion that she had conceived of his worth and conduct, that she would have this noble gentleman, and none other, to finish, and bring the Irish war to a propitious end; which (not deceiving her good conceit of him) he nobly achieved, though with much pains and carefulness.

Among the greatest things laid to queen Elizabeth her charge (saith the Censurer) as cast behinde the door of neglect, was the conduct of the affairs of Ireland; a place lying all her halcyon days

Q. Eliz. days under so great a contempt, that wise Walsingham thought it no treason to wish it buried in the Sea, considering the charge it brought: yet she kept the Pale in good order, not suffering the Spanish party to grow more potent in the North, than was convenient to consume his forces, and divert him from nearer and more dangerous attempts. It being impossible for her without being grievous to her people (a rock she chiefly studied to avoid) at one time to maintain so dreadful a navy at Sea, and foment the Dutch and French, to whose assistance she was called by a louder necessity, than to render a nation quite desolate; none being willing during her life to exchange the present government of a natural prince, for the less happy tyranny of a vice-roy; of which the most did study more their respective grandeur by extending the war, than the ease of the inhabitants, and lessening the queen's expence, till the noble lord Mountjoy, was employed, who had no other design than the conclusion of the work; which he had not yet brought about, but that the Spaniards found themselves betrayed through the covetousness and cowardize of the natives, that for small sums would sell not only such foreigners as came to help them, but their nearest relations. Nor was it possible to reduce them to civility, but by curing the bogs and fastnesses, and building castles and garrisons, which he did; nor easie to subdue them without that severity to the priests, which he used; whom he found exercising such an implicit power over the peoples consciences, that they could not resolve themselves of their Sovereign's right or religion. ——— This for his Irish government: touching his domestick relation; when queen Elizabeth's

betb's favour to Essex (like a bone by breaches Q. Eliz. made more firm) swelled him to such a degree of confidence as frowned on them as enemies that acknowledged not his friendship, or depended not on his favour, to balance him and my lord Cecil, this gallant gentleman, and of honourable extraction, was placed in her eye; many hoping by his application to draw from her heart the affection they thought mortal to them and their design, the whole result concluding in a duel that raised both in their mistriss affections, as champions for her beautynow; and like to be so for her government.

There are some letters of this noble persons to be seen, I am told, of a plain and equal style becoming a states-man and business; not seldome yet admitting of several constructions, if of any interpretation at all, where the business related to a thing whose consequence could not easily be seen into.

Observations on the Life of Edward Earl of Rutland.

A Noble-man, eminent for those several en-Lloyd.
dowments which single, do exact an entire man. For a person of his quality to be an accurate critick in the learned tongues, and then as a rhetorician to make all their graces serve his eloquence; to have traversed ancient, and yet be no stranger in modern writers: to be well versed in the more crabbed philosophy, and accurate in politer classick authors; to be learned in

Q. Eliz. in history and policy, and master in the law of the land, and of nations. For such a man to have devoured so much and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature, and in diligence, which hath but few examples: yet his speculative knowledge *that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his more practick and experimental prudence; which together with his alliance to my lord Burleigh, had voted him to Bromley's place, but that they both sickned in one day, and died in one week; he leaving these four advisees behind him, 1. Be always employed. 2. Look to the issue. 3. Be furnished with a friend. And 4. Reflect upon thy self.*—*Vita est in se Reflexio.*

Observations on the Life of Sir John Smith.

Lloyd.

HIS relation to Edward the sixth his cousin german, was enough to countenance his parts, and his parts ripe and large enough to advance his person.—His gravity could be no where better employed than in Spain, nor his reservedness any where more suitable than in Italy. In Spain his carriage had a great impression upon the king, and his spirit upon the whole court. For Gasper Quiroga arch-bishop of Toledo, inveighing bitterly against the queen's person, and more against her *Title (Defender of the Faith)* was answered by him with that wisdom and prudence,

* Life is a reflexion upon it self.

dence, that his majesty of Spain checked the Q. Eliz. arch-bishop as an *Impertinado*, 'as he called him, and hugged sir John Smith, as a man who had made *himself* dreadful, and his mistress therefore much more to that court—(They who least consider hazard in *the doing of their duty, fare best still.*) The surest way to safety, is to *have one interest espoused so firmly, as never to be changed.* Nor did he this out of a vainer bottom than an observation he made of his mistresses resolution, already in despair of procuring good from any milder endeavours than those of power : a signal testimony of the commanding worth this gentleman had, which extorted a reverence to his person in that very place where his business contracted an odium. An excellent person he was, in whom honesty of manners strived with nobility of birth, and merit with honour ; of a composed and stayed temper, that would say under all temptations to disquiet, Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not : if it be, why do we not manage it to our content ? if not, why are we discontented, especially since every thing hath two handles ? if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate. Upon which consideration, all private concerns he passed over with a perfect indifference : the world and its appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took notice when any part dropt off, or sat uneasily.

Observations on the Life of Sir Walter Rawleigh.

Lloyd.

SIR Walter Rawleigh was well descended, and of good alliance, but poor in his beginning. He was so tossed by fortune to and fro, that he was sometimes high, sometimes low, sometimes in a middle condition. He was brought up in the university and Inns of court, but he stayed

some and well-compacted wit, and a better, judicious, plausible tongue, which parts to the best advantage the adjuncts of some by diligence he enforced, and perfection; for he adier, whether by sea or land, and none of the least observers both of men and the times. Falling from that sudden grace, which he by his parts had gained of the queen, he

He went aside for a while, but at his return he Q. Eliz.
came in with the greater strength, and so continued to her last, great in her favour, and captain of the guard. His prudence *understood* his capacity, and his industry *served* it; raising his fortune as high as his parts, and his parts as high as his mind. His motto was, *either dye nobly, or live honourably*. Never man prospered, but the resolute, and he that hath awaked an easie, soft, sleepy, or indifferent temper, to the noble adventure of being Cæsar, or being none: a disposition meeting a large and capacious soul in this gentleman, taught him the exact discipline of war in Ireland and the Low-countries, the great skill of a sea-man between Europe and America, and a patience as severe in enduring hardship, as his necessity in requiring it. Five hours he slept, four he read, two he discoursed; allowing the rest to his business and his necessities: no souldier fared or lay harder; none ventured further: what is not extraordinary (he would say) is *nothing*: it being the end of all arts and sciences to direct men by certain rules unto the most compendious way in their knowledge and practice: those things of which in ourselves we have onely some imperfect confused notions, being herein fully and clearly represented to our view from the discoveries that other men have made, after much study and long experience; and there is nothing of greater consequence for the advancement of learning, than to finde out those particular advantages which there are for the shortest way of knowing and teaching things in every profession. There was not an expert souldier or sea-man, but he consulted; not a printed or manuscript, discourse of navigation or

Q. Eliz. war but he perused; nor were there exact rules or principles for both services, than he drew so contemplative he was, that you would think he was not active: so active, that you would say he was not prudent—A great souldier, and yet an excellent courtier: an accomplished gallant, and yet a bookish man; a man that seemed born for any thing he undertook; his wit brought him to court, and kept him there; for there happening a difference between him and my lord Grey, under whom he served in Ireland, which was heard before the council-table, Rawleigh stated his case with that clearness, urged his arguments with that evidence and reason, offered his apologies with those *pertinent* and *taking* allegations, and his replies with that smartness; expressed himself with that fluency and eloquence, and managed his carriage and countenance with that discretion, that he was first the states-mens observation, next her majesties favourite, and at last her oracle; as who was equally happy in his comprehensive discourses to her of her private interest in every part of her government, and in his effectuall speeches to her subjects in parliament touching theirs in every part of their duty.

Two things he observed in his mistress.

1. That she was penurious in her largesses.
2. That she was choice in her favourites.

Whence he concluded; that there was no good to be done unless he got an estate first, and then a reputation.

To the first, we owe his sea-voyages, when his whole fortune was often put up in one ship; and to the last, his land services, when all his expectation depended on one action. Two rivals
he

He observed, Essex for action, Cecil for counsel: *Q. Eliz.* the one he went under abroad, to outvy him; the other he complied with at home, to undermine him: but wanting strength, though not parts to be both their corrivals, he perished, because not thought to own humility enough to be their servants. Cecil indeed was his friend, because Essex was his enemy: but he taught him, *That it was more safe at court to have many enemies of equall power, that one false and ambitious friend, that hath attained to the absoluteness of command:* But this he was often heard to say, he did not apprehend, before his genius had dictated it to him, as he came in a boat from the execution of the earl of Essex, which was done at the Tower.—Yet two ways I find him getting up. 1. By uncouth projects in parliament beyond expectation; which (though they might oblige his mistress) together with an opinion of his irreligion, lost him with the people. 2. By extraordinary undertakings in warre beyond his commission; which (though performed to outdo his generals) had forfeited his head to their severity and justice, had not his wit complied with their easiness and goodness. It's a question among the *curiosoes*, whether his often absence from court, was his *prudence*, or his *weakness*, it being a *quodlibet*, whether that distance was a greater allay to his *enemies malice*, or to his *sovereign's love*; while his forreign actions were not so close at her ear to his advantage, as his adversaries applications to his disparagement.

Two things I must needs say are wonderful in him. 1. The dispatch and industry of the former part of his life. 2. The weakness of the latter.


Q. Eliz. Touching the first, he that shall consider his laborious way of study, immers'd in almost infinite reading and observation, to which the running over of innumerable books, and a vast multitude of men was necessary : his obligations to read not onely common authors, but all records, schemes, and papers that he could come by : his correspondence with friends and strangers, his review of his own papers (which he fate close to by sea and land) that never passed him without three transcriptions ; his reception of visits, whether of civility, or business, or discourse, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time ; his agency for all sorts of persons (his interest with his thrifty mistress being most part of his pension) in which capacity he set up a kinde of office of address—his letters, which cost him one day in the week : the time lost upon his misfortunes, which made it necessary for him often to break his great series and method of undertaking. He, I say, that shall compute, and sum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly told without any straining of the truth, or flourish of expression, must be much to seek how a man of so many actions should write any thing ; and one of so many writings should do any thing ; and more, how one of so many fatall diversions could keep up a steady minde for those great, but exact arguments that it hath left in the world ; especially when there was one very difficult particular in all his composures, viz. that none of his discourses with which his history or other books are embellished, passed his exact hand, before the most knowing and most learned men in that faculty to which those discourses belonged, had debated them before him ; who after their departure summed

med up all into those excellent pieces now abroad Q. Eliz. under his name, which I blame not king James for envying, being the nearest his own: though I think not that learned prince of so low a spirit, as out of an impertinent emulation to affect sir Walter Raleigh the less, for the great repute that followed him because of his pen; which being more dangerous than his sword, I wonder that wise prince indulged him, especially since that master Hampden a little before the wars was at the charge of transcribing 3452 sheets of his manuscripts, as the *Amanuensis* himself told me, who had his close chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant to deliver him the originals, and take his copies as fast as he could write them.

2. To the second, viz. the weakness of the last part of his life: 1. There was not a *greater reach* in that advice of his to the queen (when some were for attacking Spain one way, and some another) to cut off its commerce with the Indies, than there was shortness of spirit in trusting the most hopeful part of that expedition to sir John Burroughs, when he *sunk* under the most *disastrous* himself. Yet 2. That he, when captain of the guard, warden of the cinque-ports, governour of Virginia (a place of his own discovery) preferments enough to satisfy a regular spirit, should stand on termes with king James against the law of the land, the genius of the nation, the resolution of the nobility, and reason it self (that knoweth there is no cautions that hold princes, but their interest and nature) was a greater infirmity. But 3. That he upon the king's frown for his former indiscretion upon him,

Q. Eliz. him, and Cobham, should engage upon so shallow a treason (so improbable to hurt others, or benefit themselves, that if ever folly was capable of the title, or pity due to innocence, theirs might claim so large a share as not possible to be too severely condemned, or slightly enough punished) and that with such weak and inconsiderable men, as were rather against the government, than for one another (Grey being a puritan, and Cobham a protestant) were the greatest: but there is one particular more behind; that he could employ his restraint so well, should live under the justice as well as jealousy of K. James: and knowing that princes must not pardon any able man that either they have wronged, or that hath wronged them, be so intent upon a foolish liberty, wherein he lost himself and his in that unhappy voyage of Guiana; a voyage, that considering king James his inclination to the match, his own obnoxiousness to that king abroad, and Cecil here for obstructing the peace with Spain, and Gondamor's vigilance, must needs be as unsuccessful, as it was disgustful.

Methinks He that was of so incomparable a dexterity in his judgment, as the *Treasurer* grew jealous of his excellent parts, lest he should supplant him; of so quick and ready apprehension and conduct, that he puzzled the judges at Winchester: of so good a head-piece, that it was wished then on the secretary of state's shoulders: of so considerable an interest, that notwithstanding his fourteen years imprisonment, princes interceded for him, the whole nation pitied him, and king James would not execute him without an apology: and to say no more,
of

of so much magnanimity, that he managed his death with so high and so religious a resolution,  as if a christian had acted a Roman, or rather a Roman a christian; might have gone off the world at a higher rate, but that there is an higher power governs wisdom, as invisibly, yet as really as wisdom doth the world; which when I look back upon my lord of Essex, I call *fate*; but when from him I look forward to sir Walter Rawleigh, I believe a *providence*.

He had a good presence in a handsome and well-compacted person, a strong natural wit, a better judgement, with a bold and plausible tongue, which set off his parts to the best advantage: to these he had the adjuncts of a general learning; which by diligence and experience (those two great tutors) was augmented to a great perfection, being an indefatigable reader, and having a very retentive memory: before his judges at Winchester humble, but not prostrate; dutiful, yet not deject: to the jury affable, but not fawning; hoping, but not trusting in them, carefully persuading them with reason, not distemperately importuning them with conjurations: rather shewing love of life, than fear of death: patient, but not careless; civil, but not stupid.

Observations on the Life of
Thomas Sackvil, Lord Buckhurst.

Lloyd.

HE was bred in the University of Oxford; where he became an excellent poet, leaving both *Latine* and *English* poems of his to posterity. Then studied he law in the Temple, and took the degree of Barrister: afterwards he travelled into forreign parts, was detained for a time a prisoner in Rome, which he revenged afterwards in the liberty of his speech at the powder-traytor's tryal. When his liberty was procured for his return into England, he possessed the vast inheritance left him by his father, whereof in short time by his magnificent prodigality he spent the greatest part, till he seasonably began to spare, growing neer to the bottome of his estate.

The story goes, that this young gentleman coming to an alderman of London, who had gained great penny worths by his former purchases of him, was made (being now in the wane of his
 alderman
 sent
 solv
 and
 rem
 as a
 (his

frequent admonitions, diverted the torrent of *Q. Eliz.* his profusion. Indeed she would not know him, till he began to know himself, and then heaped places of honour and trust upon him, creating him,

1. Baron of Buckhurst in Suffex, anno dom. 1566.

2. Sending him ambassador into France, anno 1571. Into the Low-Countries, anno dom. 1576.

3. Making him knight of the order of the garter, anno 1589.

4. Appointing him treasurer of England, 1599.

He was chancellour of the University of Oxford, where he entertained queen Elizabeth with a most sumptuous feast. He was called the star-chamber-bell, so very flowing his invention; and therefore no wonder if his secretaries could not please him, being a person of so quick dispatch, (faculties which yet run in the blood.) He took a roll of the names of all tutors, with the date of their first addresses, and these in order had their hearing, so that a fresh-man could not leap over the head of his senior, except in urgent affairs of state. Thus having made amends to his house for his mispent time, both in increase of estate and honour, being created earl of Dorset by king James, he died on the 19th of April, 1608.

The lord Buckhurst was of the noble house of the Sackvils, and of the queen's consanguinity: his father was that provident and wise man sir Richard Sackvil, or as the people then called him, Fill sack, by reason of his great wealth,

Q. Eliz. and the vast patrimony which he left to this his son, whereof he spent in his youth the best part, untill the queen by her frequent admonitions diverted the torrent of his profusion; he was a very fine gentleman of person and endowments both of art and nature. His elocution is much commended, but the excellency of his pen more; for he was a scholar, and a person of quick faculties, very facete and choice in his phrase and style. He was wise and stout, nor was he any ways ensnared in the factions of the court, which were all his time very strong. He stood still in grace, and was wholly intentive to the queen's service; and such were his abilities, that she received assiduous proofs of his sufficiency. As

1. In his embassie to France, whereas the queen-mother complemented him, he behaved himself very worthy of his mistresses majesty, and his own peerage, there he had an experienced Tuscan, Calacanti by name, to deal with that Florentine queen; Montmorancy's brother to undermine the Guises; and his own great parts, to grapple with old Hospital: he began that subtile piece the French match, under pretence whereof we balanced, and understood Europe; and Walsingham finished it.

2. In his negotiations in the Low-Countries, where he watched Leicester and the commanders; he observed the states, and their changeable and various interests, accommodating the present emergencies, and suiting their occasions.

They that censure this nobleman's death, consider not besides the black worm and the white (day and night, as the riddle is) that are gnawing constantly at the root of the tree of life.

There

There are many insensible diseases, as *Apo-* Q. Eliz.
plexies, whose vapours suddainly extinguish the
 animal spirits; and apothumes both in the up-
 per and middle region of man, that often drown
 and suffocate both the animal and vital, who are
 like embodied twins, the one cannot subsist with-
 out the other: if the animal wits fail, the vital
 cannot *subsist*: if the vitals perish, the animals
 give over their operation: and he that judgeth
 ill of such an act of providence, may have the
 same hand at the same time writing within the
 palace-walls of his own body, the same *period* to
 his lives earthly empire. His posterity refused
 an apology offered in his behalf, upon this
 ground, that the things objected to him, were of
 the number of those little cavils, which come
 with that rule not holding in great accusations.

* *Spreta exolescunt, si irascere, agnita videntur.*

* If you despise little injuries, they will die away of
 themselves; if you are angry at them, you seem to shew
 that you deserve them.

The End of the Observations upon the Lives
 of the Statesmen and Favourites of Eng-
 land in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

I N D E X

To VOL. I.

| A. | | p. | | | p. |
|--------------------------|--|-----|---------------------------|--|-----|
| Audley, sir Thomas | | 81 | Dorset, Thomas Grey, | | |
| Arundel, Henry Fitz- | | | marq. of | | 165 |
| Alane, earl of | | 291 | Derby, Edward earl of | | 433 |
| Ascham, sir Roger | | 501 | Drury, sir William | | 444 |
| B. | | | Dale, doctor | | 450 |
| Bolen, sir Thomas | | 149 | Dier, sir James | | 483 |
| Buckingham, Edward | | | Davidson, secretary | | 511 |
| Stafford, duke of | | 171 | E. | | |
| Brown, sir Anthony | | 176 | Essex, Thomas Cromwel, | | |
| Brooke, sir David | | 262 | earl of | | 67 |
| Baker, sir John | | 337 | Effingham, Howard earl | | |
| Bacon, sir Nicholas | | 354 | of | | 21 |
| Burleigh, sir Wm. Cecil, | | | Evers, sir Ralph | | 336 |
| lord | | 357 | Edward VI. king, | | 185 |
| Burge, Thomas lord | | 479 | Elizabeth, queen, | | 347 |
| Bromley, sir Thomas | | 497 | Essex, Walter Devereaux, | | |
| Bingham, sir Richard | | 500 | earl of | | 370 |
| C. | | | Essex, R. earl of | | 523 |
| Cranmer, Thomas arch- | | | F. | | |
| bishop of Canterbury | | 44 | Fineux, sir John | | 91 |
| Compton, sir William | | 157 | Fox, Dr. Edward | | 96 |
| Cheek, sir John | | 207 | Fitz-James, sir John | | 125 |
| Cordel, sir William | | 245 | Fitz-James, sir Wm. | | 135 |
| Cooke, sir Anthony | | 249 | Fines, sir Edward | | 285 |
| Cheyney, sir Thomas | | 343 | Fitz-Patrick, sir Barnaby | | |
| Challoner, sir Thomas | | 419 | | | 288 |
| Crofts, sir James | | 455 | Fitz-Williams, sir Wm. | | |
| D. | | | | | 435 |
| Darcy, sir Thomas | | 141 | Fortescue, sir John | | 442 |
| | | | Fen- | | |

Fenton, fir Jeffery 551
Fletcher, Dr. 552

G.

Grey, John of Pyrgo 455
Gates, fir Henry, 455
Grey, William lord of
Mikton 458
Gray, Arthur Baron of
Wilton, 476
Gilbert, fir Humphrey 514

H.

HENRY VIII king, 1
Howard, fir Thomas 143
Howard, fir Edward 153
Herbert, fir William 334
Hatton, Christopher lord
406
Hunsdon, lord 411
Heath, Nich. Arch. Bish.
of York, 413
Haddon, Dr. Walter 515

J.

Jeffery, fir John 238

K.

Kington, fir Wm. 339
Killigrew, fir Henry 471
Knowles, family of 506

L.

Leiger, fir Anthony 99
Leicester, earl of 403

M.

More, fir Thomas 52
Morisin, fir Richard 113

Molineux, fir Wm. fir 25
Marney, fir Henry 256
Mason, fir John 225
MARY, queen, 244
Mountague, fir Edw. 280
Manners, fir Thomas 336
Mildmay, fir Walter 440
Manwood, fir Roger 463
Mountjoy, lord 554

N.

Northumberland, fir John
Dudley, duke of 296
Norfolk, duke of 425
North, lord 450
Norris, family of 506

P.

Paget, fir Wm. 109
Poynings, fir Edw. 169
Pars, family of 203
Paston, fir Clement 219
Portman, fir John 273
Peter, fir William 306
Pool, cardinal 311
Perrot, fir John 398
Pickering, fir Wm. 415
Pembroke, earl of 438
Pawlet, fir Amias 454
Plowden, Edmund 460
Pawlet, Wm. lord 481
Pelham, fir William 487
Puckering, fir John 495
Packington, fir John 504

R.

Rich, lord 221
Ruffel, fir John 319
Randolph, fir Thos. 450

p.
Ruffel, fir William 517
Roper, fir Thomas 518
Rutland, Edw. earl of 557
Rawleigh, fir Walter 560

S.
Suffolk, Charles Brandon,
 35
Sadler, fir Ralph 105
Stanley, fir Edw. 148
Surrey, fir T. Howard,
 earl of 114
Sommerfet, fir Char. 162
Seymours, Edward and
 Thomas 188
Stamford, fir Wm. 233
Suffex, Thomas Ratclif,
 earl of 374
Sidney, fir Philip 285
Shrewsbury, fir F. Talbot,
 earl of 418
Smith, fir Thomas 446
Sidney, fir Henry 490
Smith, fir John 558
Sackvill, Thomas lord
Buckhurst, 568

p.
Tunstal, bishop of Dur-
 ham, 416
Throgmorton, fir Nicks.
 424

U.
Umpton, fir Henry, 521

W.
Wolsey, cardinal 9
Wiat, fir Thomas 86
Wotton, Dr. Nicks. 118
Wriothesly, fir Tho. 122
Wingfield, fir Robert 169
Wentworth, fir Tho. 213
Wilson, Dr. Tho. 266
Winchester, Gardiner bp.
 of 327
Willoughby, lord, 381
Walsingham, fir Francis
 398
Waterhouse, fir Edw. 422
Wray, fir Christ. 465
Worcester, earl of 468
Waad, fir William 489

BOOKS Printed for J. ROBERTSON
Royal Highness the Prince of Wales
and the Duke of Cornwall

The following is a list of the
Books printed for the
Royal Highness the Prince of Wales
and the Duke of Cornwall
by J. ROBERTSON
Printed and Sold by
J. ROBERTSON
at the Sign of the Crown
in Pall Mall
London

BOOKS Printed for J. ROBSON, Bookseller to Her
Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of *Wales*, in
New Bond-Street. viz.

This Day is publish'd, in One Volume 8vo. Price
5 s. bound, ornamented with Five Copper Plates,

THE Lives of JOHN WICLIFF ; and of the
most Eminent Reformers his DISCIPLES ; Lord
COBHAM, JOHN HUSS, JEROME of PRAGUE,
and ZISCA.

After the way, which they call Heresy, so worship
we the God of *our* Fathers.

ACTS xxiv. 14.

By WILLIAM GILPIN, M. A.
The Second Edition, corrected and improved.

This Day is published, in Octavo, price 2 s. 6 d. sew'd,
Highly necessary to be read by every lover of his
Country, especially at this crisis.

A GENERAL VIEW of ENGLAND, respect-
ing its Policy, Finances, Trade, Commerce,
Taxes, Debts, Produce of Lands, Colonies, Man-
ners of Inhabitants, &c. &c. argumentatively stated,
from the Year 1600 to 1762. In a Letter to A. M.
L. C. D. by M. N. D. M. Now translated from the
French, first printed in 1762.

This Day is published, in One Volume 8vo, price
7 s. neatly bound. The Twelfth Edition.

MEDULLA HISTORIÆ Anglicanæ ; the pre-
sent State of England ; being a compendious
History of all its Monarchs from the time of Julius
Cæsar to the Accession of his present Majesty George
III. by Dr. HOWELL.